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ABSTRACT

Liberally illustrated with photographs and drawings, this book is comprised of articles on the history of the performing arts at the Library of Congress. The articles, listed with their authors, are (1) "Stranger in Paradise: The Writer in Hollywood" (Virginia M. Clark); (2) "Live Television Is Alive and Well at the Library of Congress" (Robert Saudek); (3) "Color and Music and Movement: The Federal Theatre Project Lives on in the Pages of Its Production Bulletins" (Ruth B. Kerns); (4) "A Gift of Love through Music: The Legacy of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge" (Elise K. Kirk); (5) "Ballet for Martha: The Commissioning of 'Appalachian Spring'" (Wayne D. Shirley); (6) "With Villa North of the Border--On Location" (Aurelio de los Reyes); and (7) "All the Presidents' Movies" (Karen Jaehne). Performances at the library during the 1986-87 season, research facilities, and performing arts publications of the library are also covered. (MS)

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COVER,
Aldous Huxley.
Photo by Pirie MacDonald, 1926.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

On October 9, 1929, J. S. Bach's *Art of the Fugue* was performed in the Library's Coolidge Auditorium. "We are dazed," said *Musical America*'s A. Walter Kramer, who felt nineteen uninterrupted fugues provided a ponderous musical journey for the audience. He also wondered what the thoughts of Mrs. Herbert Hoover were as she listened to "100 minutes of fugues. She will probably not be the most inveterate attendant at these festivals in the future."

This editor has not managed to locate concert attendance records for first ladies of the period, so we do not know if Mr. Kramer's assumption was correct, but we do know that many other dignitaries and music lovers have journeyed to the Coolidge Auditorium over the past few decades and that during the 1986-1987 concert season some of them were exposed to *The Art of the Fugue* with no apparent ill effects. On October 23rd and 24th the Juilliard String Quartet, with its new second violinist Joel Smirnoff, treated the audience to a dazzling performance of this extraordinary work composed by Bach during the last five years of his life. Later that month, an exciting choral and chamber orchestra work by Hollywood film composer David Raksin, *Oedipus Memneitai*, was premiered on Founder's Day—October 30th, the birth date of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. Mr. Raksin's work was commissioned by the Coolidge Foundation.

Reading through the articles in this year's *Annual* one realizes that contributions by benefactors have been of paramount importance to the study and appreciation of the performing arts at the Library of Congress. Wayne Shirley and Elise Kirk relate how Mrs. Coolidge's generosity has transformed the Library into an international center for chamber music and has led to the commissioning of many of the twentieth century's most important compositions, including *Appalachian Spring*.

Other contributions which are not so familiar to the public include collections of scripts for Hollywood films by such authors as Raymond Chandler, William Faulkner, Christopher Isherwood, James Agee, and Aldous Huxley (whose photograph appears on the cover of this volume). The NBC Television Collection, presented to the Library in 1986, now makes available approximately eighteen thousand titles and spans the years from 1948 to 1977, a significant addition to our collection of over forty thousand TV programs. And part of the research for the article on Pancho Villa is based upon photographs and films donated to the Library in 1951 by the heirs of Gen. Hugh Lenox Scott, who knew Villa.

This year we present the final act of General Villa's rise to and fall from power and film stardom, a tale which we began last year. Next year we will learn more interesting details about the complex negotiations that resulted in the creation and production of *Appalachian Spring*. We are sorry that our intermissions are so long, but perhaps they can be spent listening to "100 minutes of fugues" or Copland's ballet music, or reading about Pancho Villa's escapades.

Iris Newsom

STRANGER IN PARADISE

THE WRITER IN HOLLYWOOD

BY VIRGINIA M. CLARK

JOAN FONTAINE AND ORSON Welles in a scene from *Jane Eyre*. Twentieth Century-Fox, 1944. Aldous Huxley collaborated with Robert Stevenson and John Houseman on the screenplay. Photograph of Huxley by Pirie MacDonald, 1926. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

VIRTUALLY FROM THE BEginning, Hollywood and the literary community have shared a peculiar, symbiotic relationship. Hollywood has sought the skill and prestige associated with "serious" writers, and of these writers, contemptuous though they may have been of the crassness and compromises implicit in the Hollywood system, few have managed to resist the lure of glamour, fame—and lucre. Writers were drawn to the films—whether for doing dialogue, rewrite or polishing jobs, or entire scripts—particularly during the Golden Age of the studio system, in the 1930s and 1940s. The list of writers who tried their hand at screenwriting, many of them prominent novelists and playwrights, goes on and on, including: Somerset Maugham, P. G. Wodehouse, Hugh Walpole, Noel Coward, J. B. Priestley, Anthony Powell, Graham Greene, Bertolt Brecht, Thornton Wilder, John Steinbeck, S. N. Behrman, S. J. Perelman, Clifford Odets, Dorothy

GREER GARSON AND WALTER PIDGEON IN *MADAME CURIE*. MGM, 1943.

Parker, John Dos Passos, James M. Cain, Lillian Hellman, Nathanael West, and F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Though many complained about Hollywood as a cultural wasteland—especially when compared with the New York or London literary circles—they often enjoyed the experience in spite of themselves, gathering material for their own writing, and making some good money to boot. While much of what these writers produced could be regarded as hack work, much is very fine indeed and of enduring interest both as films and as examples of what these extraordinary sensibilities could achieve in the medium of film. I am speaking here in particular of five writers: Aldous Huxley, Raymond Chandler, William Faulkner, Christopher Isherwood, and James Agee. Some of the best work resulting from their time in Hollywood is also represented in the collections at the Library of Congress. The films, stills, scripts, and related papers are in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division; movie posters and portraits of the writers are in the Prints and Photographs Division.

It is a fact not widely realized that Englishman Aldous Huxley—learned and prolific writer of fiction and nonfiction, perhaps best known for *Brave New World*—also worked off and on as a screenwriter in Los Angeles, where he lived from 1938 until his death in 1963. It seems that Huxley first got the idea to try his hand at screenwriting while he and his wife Maria were visiting with D. H. Lawrence's widow Frieda on her ranch near Taos, New Mexico. There, Huxley was approached by Los Angeles bookseller Jacob Zeitlin with the idea of buying film rights to Huxley's novels, such as *Point Counter Point*. Although that arrangement was not made, the idea did spur Huxley on to write his first scenario, *Success*. He tried, unsuccessfully, to sell it in Los Angeles, where he ended up settling—a place alluring to him for its mild climate and film industry, as well as for the presence of a growing community of British, German, and other exiles from the war. Huxley became part of a lively group of artists and intellectuals, including Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Arnold Schoenberg, Igor Stravinsky,

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD'S REAL HOLLYWOOD SUCCESS would prove to be his insider's view of the industry in his unfinished novel *The Last Tycoon*. Photograph by Carl Van Vechten, June 4, 1937. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

Christopher Isherwood, Charlie Chaplin, and Greta Garbo, many of whom gathered at the Santa Monica "salon" of Salka Viertel, then screenwriter for several of Garbo's films.

It was through the influence of his friend Anita Loos that Huxley obtained his first screenwriting job in 1938, on the MGM project *Madame Curie*, slated for Greta Garbo. As Maria Huxley described it in a letter,

> He wants to project the passion of scientific curiosity, and the nobility of such a life, the significance of the discovery of radium, the humility and courage of that woman. Aldous wants it to be done properly and nobly. . . . The great advantage of having Garbo is that she passionately wants to play that part; she admires Aldous and would do a lot more under his direction.

Though Huxley's treatment (now in the MGM studio vault) was decent enough, the project proved problematic. In typical studio fashion, the scenario was assigned to a series of other writers in turn, including Salka Viertel and F. Scott Fitzgerald. (Fitzgerald's real Hollywood success would prove to be his insider's view of the industry—MGM and Irving Thalberg in particular—in his novel *The Last Tycoon*, unfinished at his death at the end of 1940; just as Nathanael West, who toiled away at B pictures—and who would die within a day of Fitzgerald—had a real achievement in his 1939 novel about the seamy underside of Hollywood, *The Day of the Locust*.) *Madame Curie* was finally released in 1943, with a different director, and starring not Garbo, but Greer Garson, along with Walter Pidgeon. The final script (in the Library's collection), credited to Paul Osborn and Paul H. Rameau—and emphasizing the love story angle—still bears some traces of Huxley's original work.

For Huxley's next assignment at MGM, *Pride and Prejudice* (1940), he worked in collaboration with MGM screenwriter Jane Murfin (whose latest credit, shared with Anita Loos, had been *The Women* in 1939, a project from which Fitzgerald had been removed earlier). This film, starring Greer Garson and Laurence Olivier, demonstrated the successful handling of a literary classic, a film effective in its own right. While in a collaborative effort it is generally tricky to guess who wrote what, we may assume here that Huxley had a large role in the script's literate dialogue and in the intelligent treatment of Jane Austen's ironic wit, and that Murfin made use of her Hollywood experience in determining the structure and pace. As an example of

their work, we might compare a scene from the script at the Library (the dialogue-cutting continuity) with the original sources—Austen's novel, as well as Helen Jerome's stage adaptation of 1935. In those sources, Darcy remarks to Bingley about Elizabeth (who overhears) that "She is tolerable; but not handsome enough to tempt me, and I am in no humour at present to give consequence to young ladies who are slighted by other men." In the script, the latter part of the line is changed to "I'm in no humour tonight to give consequence to the middle classes at play," which changes the direction of his scribbles from Elizabeth as an "unpopular" woman to her as a representative of a class beneath his—a key element in the work's constant interplay of the pride-prejudice motif.

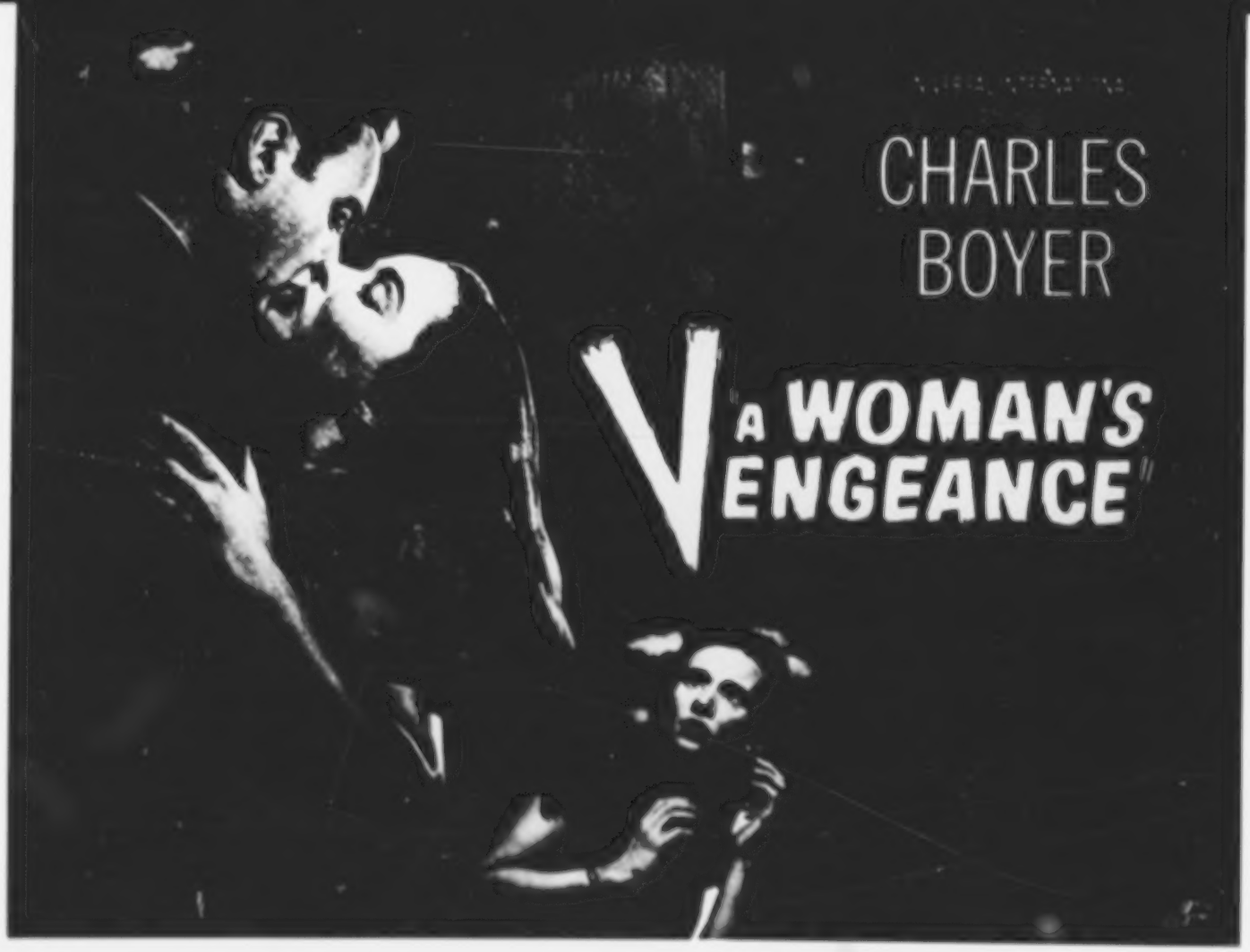
Huxley's next noteworthy credit, in collaboration with the film's director Robert Stevenson and John Houseman, was for Twentieth Century Fox's 1944 release, *Jane Eyre*—another successful adaptation, and a film apparently bearing the influence of its actor Orson Welles, in its brooding, expressionistic visual design reminiscent of *Citizen Kane*. A notable example of this visual style of deep-focus photography and low-key lighting is the scene where young Jane (Peggy Ann Garner) is punished by being made to stand on a stool at Lowood Institute, surrounded on four sides by her schoolmates and teachers, the cruelty of this punishment enforced by the looming of deep, angular shadows. As for the treatment of Charlotte Brontë's novel by Huxley and the other writers, an examination of the script in the Library's collection reveals a general downplaying of the novel's religious and moral underpinnings, and more of an emphasis on the love story between Jane (Joan Fontaine) and Rochester (Orson Welles).

Though he would work on various projects from time to time, Huxley's final—and only solo—screenplay credit was for *A Woman's Vengeance* (Universal, 1947), an adaptation of Huxley's own short story "The Gioconda Smile," about a philandering husband with an invalid wife, and an intellectual spinster who poisons her to win him, only to discover that he was involved with someone else—someone young and pretty. Huxley indicated in a letter to Anita Loos that the censors would not permit the actual relationship between Henry and his young mistress to be depicted, forcing Huxley to rewrite the script:

> The censors demanded the cutting of various scenes—fortunately not essential ones; and the information they were meant to convey (about the young girl's pre-marital pregnancy) can be put across, not by honest statement, but by "hicks and nods and wreathed smiles," the principle of the Johnston Office's moral: its being that nothing may be said in a decent way but that all may be suggested indecently.

This tale of love and murder actually had three manifestations by Huxley, which provide a unique opportunity to study the author's intentions and skill in the various media: short story, screenplay, and stage play. In the tense final third of the story, it is the film version, with its technique of crosscutting between scenes taking place simultaneously at home and at prison, which achieves the greatest power. Will Dr. Libbard (Cedric

PEGGY ANN GARNER IN *JANE EYRE*. TWENTIETH CENTURY-FOX, 1944.



POSTER ADVERTISING *A WOMAN'S VENGEANCE*. UNIVERSAL, 1947. ***Prints and Photographs Division.***

Hardwicke) be able to extract a confession from Janet (Jessica Tandy) that she poisoned Henry's wife, in time to save Henry (Charles Boyer), now in prison, from being executed for a crime he did not commit? (Yes.)

When we think of Raymond Chandler, we think of his hard boiled detective fiction, with the fallible but determined hero Philip Marlowe making his way through the *noir* world of Los Angeles, or "Bay City" as he called Santa Monica. In his well known essay in *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1944), "The Simple Art of Murder," Chandler describes a knightlike Marlowe:

> Down these mean streets a man must go who is not himself mean, who is neither tarnished nor afraid. . . . He must be the best man in his world and a good enough man for any world. . . . If there were enough like him, the world would be a safe place to live in, without becoming too dull to be worth living in.

Chandler's novels—such as *The Big Sleep*, *Farewell My Lovely*, and *The Lady in the Lake*—lend themselves easily to cinema in the form of *film noir*, where a series of Marlowes—Dick Powell, Humphrey Bogart, Robert Montgomery, George Montgomery, James Garner, Elliott Gould, and Robert Mitchum—have enacted the more or less tough guy, the disillusioned idealist in an existential universe.

Chandler published his first novel *The Big Sleep* in 1939, when he was fifty one years old. In 1943, he started his first job as a screenwriter on *Double Indemnity*, at $1,750 a week for Paramount. Between that time and 1951 he worked on at least seven scripts, with his last assignment being Alfred Hitchcock's excellent *Strangers on a Train*, based on Patricia Highsmith's novel. The tale of psychopath Bruno Anthony (played by Robert Walker) who entraps tennis star Guy Haines (Farley Granger) in "exchange murders" turned out to be a troubled project—Chandler's script was not exactly what Hitchcock had in mind, and writer Czenzi Ormonde was brought in to rewrite it. Chandler debated refusing screen credit—which remained.[3]

Chandler did not mind expressing publicly just what he thought of the Hollywood system (which yet was paying him nicely), in his *Atlantic Monthly* (November 1945) essay on "Writers in Hollywood":

> there is no such thing as an art of the screenplay, and there never will be as long as the system lasts.

FARLEY GRANGER AND ROBERT WALKER IN *STRANGERS ON A TRAIN*. **Warner Bros., 1951.**

■

> for it is the essence of this system that it seeks to exploit a talent without permitting it the right to be a talent.

On the other hand, we have this revealing statement by Chandler in a November 7, 1951, letter to Dale Warren:

> A preoccupation with words for their own sake is fatal to good film making. It's not what films are for. It's not my cup of tea, but it could have been if I'd started it twenty years earlier.

And we also have the evidence of the fine, provocative script Chandler wrote with director Billy Wilder for the 1944 film based on James M. Cain's novel *Double Indemnity*, a screenplay which received an Academy Award nomination. (Apropos of Cain—while his attempts at screenwriting in Hollywood from 1931 to 1948 were mostly undistinguished, his steamy novels, such as *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Mildred Pierce*, certainly provided rich material for films.)

Double Indemnity is a tale about insurance salesman Walter Huff (Neff in the film, played by Fred MacMurray) and sexy, duplicitous Phyllis Nirdlinger (Dietrichson in the film, played by Barbara Stanwyck), who have an affair and plot to murder her husband but make it look as though he died falling off a moving train, in order to collect the accident insurance money. Chandler and Wilder have changed the story's ending, however, for more poetic justice. In the novel, the insurance company, after Walter's confession and in an effort to avoid publicity, arranges for the guilty couple to leave the country on a steamer, where, hopeless, they commit suicide. In the film, Walter confronts Phyllis with her deception and she shoots him; as he embraces her, he kills her—a diabolical linking of sexuality and death, a dark motif of the 1940s *film noir* world.

The script (available in the Library's collection) also adopts a narrative device not found in the novel: the film begins at the end, with Walter, dying from the gunshot wound, reciting the past events into a dictaphone in his office for his boss Keyes (Edward G. Robinson) to find:

> I killed Dietrichson—me, Walter Neff, insurance salesman, thirty-five years old, unmarried, no visible scars—until a while ago, that is. Yes, I killed him. I killed him for money and for a woman—and I didn't get

ALTHOUGH JAMES M. CAIN'S ATTEMPTS AT SCREEN WRITING WERE mostly undistinguished, his steamy novels *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Mildred Pierce* provided rich material for films. Photograph by Melbourne Spurr, 1940s. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

POSTER ADVERTISING *STRANGERS ON A TRAIN*. WARNER BROS., 1951. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

FRED MACMURRAY AND BARBARA STANWYCK IN *DOUBLE INDEMNITY.*
Paramount, 1944.

the money and I didn't get the woman. Pretty, isn't it. [pause] It all began last May . . .

The script for *Double Indemnity* broke new ground, influencing other films of the time period, with its romantic leads who were cold-blooded murderers and its implications of adultery. The screenplay is also notable for some crackling dialogue not found in Cain's novel, especially the racy repartee between Walter and Phyllis when they first meet at her house, where he has gone to try to sell insurance. Here is the famous sexual bantering between the two—"There's a speed limit in this state, Mr. Neff, forty-five miles an hour." "How fast was I going, officer?" "I'd say around ninety." —as we see in this sample from the script.

Chandler's other notable screenplay—again, nominated for an Academy Award—was for another Paramount project, *The Blue Dahlia* (1946), based on an original story idea by Chandler, and his only solo screen credit. The story is about an airman, who comes home to find his wife living it up in Los Angeles; when she is found murdered, the airman—who meanwhile has met and fallen for a mysterious blonde who picked him up one rainy night on the highway—is sought by the police, as he himself attempts to solve the case. A sample of the dialogue: as Johnny gets out of Joyce's car

3. MEDIUM SHOT Phyllis. CAMERA PANS as she crosses to chair, including Neff. She sits down.

PHYLLIS: You handle just automobile insurance or all kinds?

NEFF: All kinds. Fire, earthquake, theft, public liability, group insurance, industrial stuff, and so on right down the line.

PHYLLIS: Accident insurance?

4. CLOSEUP Neff.

NEFF: Accident insurance? Sure, Mrs. Dietrichson. I wish you'd tell me what's engraved on that anklet.

5. CLOSEUP Phyllis.

PHYLLIS: Just my name.

NEFF: (OFF) As for instance?

PHYLLIS: Phyllis.

6. CLOSEUP Neff.

NEFF: Phyllis, huh? I think I like that.

PHYLLIS: (OFF) But you're not sure?

NEFF: Oh, I'd have to drive it around the block a couple of times.

7. MEDIUM SHOT Phyllis and Neff. She rises. CAMERA PANS and TRUCKS UP as she starts past him.

PHYLLIS: Mr. Neff, why don't you drop by tomorrow evening around eight-thirty. He'll be in then.

NEFF: Who?

She stops. Neff rises. CAMERA TRUCKS UP and AROUND as he stops in front of her.

PHYLLIS: My husband! You were anxious to talk to him, weren't you?

NEFF: Yeah, I was, but - uh - I'm sort of getting over the idea, if you know what I mean.

8. CLOSEUP Phyllis; Neff tipped in back to camera.

PHYLLIS: There's a speed limit in this state, Mr. Neff - forty-five miles an hour.

NEFF: How fast was I going, Officer?

PHYLLIS: I'd say around ninety.

9. CLOSEUP Neff; Phyllis back to camera.

NEFF: Suppose you get down off your motorcycle and give me a ticket.

PHYLLIS: Suppose I let you off with a warning this time?

NEFF: Suppose it doesn't take?

10. CLOSEUP Phyllis; Neff tipped in back to camera.

PHYLLIS: Suppose I have to whack you over the knuckles.

(CONTINUED)

10. (CONTINUED)

NEFF: Suppose I bust out crying and put my head on your shoulder.

PHYLLIS: Suppose you try putting it on my husband's shoulder.

11. MEDIUM CLOSE SHOT Neff and Phyllis. He turns away. She exits. CAMERA TRUCKS UP as Neff crosses to table, picks up hat - PANS and TRUCKS UP as he crosses to Phyllis in archway - TRUCKS UP with them as they go across hall.

NEFF: That tears it!

NEFF: Eight-thirty tomorrow evening, then.

PHYLLIS: That's what I suggested.

NEFF: Will you be here, too?

PHYLLIS: I guess so - I usually am.

NEFF: Same chair, same perfume, same anklet?

They stop by front door.

PHYLLIS: I wonder if I know what you mean.

NEFF: I wonder if you wonder!

He opens door and exits.

(DOOR OPENS)

(SYNCHRONIZATION STARTS)

DISSOLVE INTO:

12. INT. CAR. CLOSE UP Neff driving along, lost in pleasant recollection.

(SYNCHRONIZED)

NEFF'S VOICE: It was a hot afternoon and I can still remember the smell of honeysuckle all along that street. How could I have known that murder can sometimes smell like honeysuckle. Maybe you would have known, Keyes, the minute she mentioned accident insurance, but I didn't. I felt like a million.

DISSOLVE INTO:

13. INT. INSURANCE OFFICE. VERY LONG SHOT (HIGH ANGLE) first floor and balcony - general activity of office workers. Elevator door in far b.g. opens. Neff comes out, crosses to door.

(SYNCHRONIZED)

NEFF'S VOICE: I went back to the office to see if I had any mail. It was the day you had that truck driver from Inglewood on the carpet.

14. INT. BALCONY. LONG SHOT (LOW ANGLE) Neff coming through door from reception room.

(SYNCHRONIZED)

NEFF'S VOICE: Remember, Keyes?

(SYNCHRONIZATION STOPS)

Secretary enters.

(OFFICE NOISES - OFF)

(CONTINUED)

SAMPLE PAGES FROM *Double Indemnity's* release dialogue script by Raymond Chandler and Billy Wilder, 1944. *Copyright Office.*

after she has given him a lift near Malibu, they say goodbye . . . but it's really not goodbye:

> Joyce: "But it's been nice knowing me, hasn't it — and now it's over. It's just as though you've never seen me."
> Johnny: "Every guy's seen you before — somewhere. The trick is to find you. [pause] Only I didn't find you soon enough . . ."

Paramount bought the script (completed by Chandler apparently under great duress — and drink — in a few weeks' time as the film was being shot) as a vehicle for Alan Ladd (whom they were about to lose to the army) as Johnny, pairing him with Veronica Lake (as Joyce) who matched his diminutive size. But Chandler was none too pleased with the casting ("Miss Moronica Lake," he griped) or what he saw as the interference with the script by director George Marshall. Yet, with a sense of honor Chandler finished the script, just as the theme of honor on the part of Johnny runs throughout the story.

William Faulkner worked in Hollywood off and on from 1932 until 1955, taking on screenwriting work mainly because he desperately needed the money to support his family and various relatives; the income from his stories and novels was not enough. He was not particularly fond of California, and managed in fact to express his sentiments about it in one of two scenes he rewrote in Dudley Nichols's script for *Air Force* (1943, directed by Howard Hawks), when he has the corporal from Brooklyn grumble "The sun shines and nothing ever happens, and before you know it, you're sixty years old." Then there is the famous anecdote, based on an incident dating from 1932. Faulkner had done some work on *Today We Live* for Howard Hawks, with whom he became good friends; there was the understanding between them that should Faulkner want more screenwriting work, he could work at home, as he disliked having to report to work at the studio. And soon weekly checks were arriving from MGM, continuing until May 1933 — when someone at the studio discovered that "at home" was 2,000 miles away, in Oxford, Mississippi.

Faulkner wrote some forty-eight screenplays, eighteen of which reached the screen, and a few of which are classics, notably Howard Hawks's *To Have and Have Not* (1944), written with Jules Furthman, and *The Big Sleep* (1946), written with Furthman and Leigh Brackett (both for Warner Bros.). Much of Faulkner's work, including that on films such as *Mildred Pierce* (1945, director Michael Curtiz) and *The Southerner* (1945, director Jean Renoir), was uncredited.[8]

Despite these accomplishments, Faulkner never quite felt comfortable with screenwriting, feeling that he did not really understand it well enough. Yet his work is certainly competent; he stands in contrast to a writer like F. Scott Fitzgerald who had great ambitions for his screenwriting work, feeling that he could make a real contribution to the art, and yet never really quite grasping the proper technique (he received only one screen credit, for *The Three Comrades* in 1938).

Regardless of Faulkner's feelings about the craft of

ALAN LADD AND VERONICA LAKE IN *THE BLUE DAHLIA*.
Paramount, 1946.

screenplay writing, it is worth noting that certain of his novels were experimental and cinematic in their technique, using such devices as montage, flashbacks, freeze-frame, slow motion, and visual metaphor. How much his experience in one medium influenced his work in the other is debatable, but it can be said that Faulkner's novels are cinematic, and his screenplays novelistic. For example, in his novel of 1929, *The Sound and the Fury*, the cinematic technique of montage — the collision of elements, forming a dialectic — is demonstrated in the use of four sections, each told by a different narrator, in a different style, at a different time period,

producing a resonance far greater than if a straightforward narrative had been employed. And, of course, much of Faulkner's fiction has provided provocative material for films: *Sanctuary* (first filmed as *The Story of Temple Drake*), *Intruder in the Dust*, *The Hamlet* (filmed as *The Long, Hot Summer*), and so on.

As for Faulkner's screenplays, *To Have and Have Not* (based on the Ernest Hemingway novel, but more reminiscent of the film *Casablanca*) concerns fishing boat captain Harry Morgan (Humphrey Bogart) in wartime Martinique, his conversion from isolationism to Resistance activity, and his involvement with a girl named Marie, whom he calls "Slim" (Lauren Bacall). Though in a collaborative effort it is difficult to determine who was responsible for what, evidence seems to show at least that in one particular, now famous scene, Hawks created the lines, but Faulkner decided where they would best work. This is the scene where the sultry Marie, standing in the doorway of Harry's room, wants him to know she's available; all he has to do is whistle: "You know how to whistle, don't you? You just put your lips together . . . and blow." But it is likely that Faulkner created the line oft-repeated by Harry's rummy sidekick Eddie (Walter Brennan), and which received the right answer from Marie, creating mutual respect: "Was you ever bit by a dead bee?"

The Big Sleep, based on Raymond Chandler's novel, is a classic *film noir*, set in a corrupt Los Angeles with an atmosphere like a chronic hangover. The film is fast paced, the plot confusing (even to the screenwriters) which works to heighten the impact of the film, giving it a frenetic, almost surreal tone. Detective Philip Marlowe (Humphrey Bogart) is hired by General Sternwood to protect his nymphomaniac daughter Carmen from a blackmailer, who might turn out to be Rusty Regan, husband of his other daughter, Vivian (Lauren Bacall). There are subsequent murders and reversals—and crackling chemistry between the two lead characters. Faulkner had a greater role in the writing of this screenplay than with *To Have and Have Not*. The excellent polish job done on some of the dialogue taken from Chandler's novel can be seen in several examples. In the scene in the steamy greenhouse at the beginning of the film when General Sternwood offers Marlowe a drink, saying "How do you like your brandy, sir?", Marlowe's reply in the book is "Any way at all." In the film, this is improved: "In a glass." Another exchange between the General and Marlowe is set up the following way in the novel:

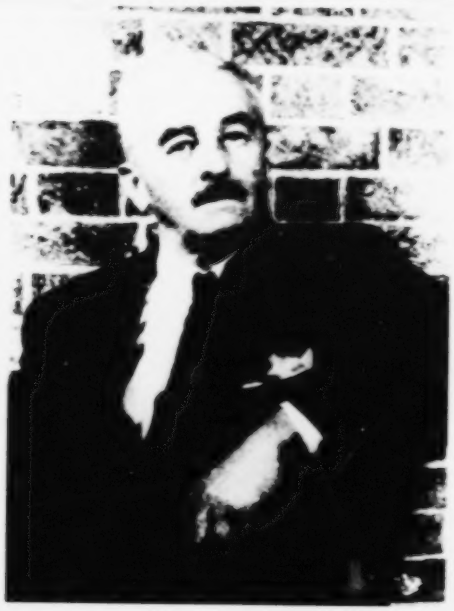
Marlowe: "Ah."
General: "That means what?"
Marlowe: "Nothing."

In the film, the exchange is reworked, and given perfect delivery in the quintessential Bogart way:

Marlowe: "Hmm."
General: "What does that mean?"
Marlowe: "It means, Hmm."

Like Huxley, Englishman Christopher Isherwood traveled the world, living in different places, but ended up settling in Los Angeles in 1939. He and the poet W. H. Auden had been traveling together for a time and came to America that year, but Auden hated California and chose New York. Unlike Auden, Isherwood had always been a fan of the movies, and he had his screenwriting baptism in London, on director Berthold Viertel's *Little Friend* (1934), an experience Isherwood would utilize in his 1945 novel *Prater Violet*. Once in Los Angeles, Isherwood became part of the group of émigrés centered at the Santa Monica Canyon home of Viertel's wife, Salka (previously discussed in connection with Huxley). Isherwood, who lived by the sea in Santa Monica until his death in January 1986 at eighty-one, could often be spotted at movies around town.

Isherwood's writing is largely autobiographical, and he is perhaps best known for his *Berlin Stories* (1934), tales of narrator Chris and his associates in the decadent Berlin of the 1930s. (The story of Sally Bowles formed the basis of John Van Druten's play *I Am a Camera* in 1951, starring Julie Harris, and Bob Fosse's film *Cabaret* of 1972, with Liza Minnelli, and Michael



WILLIAM FAULKNER WROTE SOME FORTY-EIGHT screenplays, a few of which are classics, notably *To Have and Have Not* and *The Big Sleep*. Photograph by Carl Van Vechten, December 11, 1954. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

York as Chris.) In Los Angeles, Isherwood continued with his writing, but was also sidetracked both by his interest in mysticism, Vedanta style (he did a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita*), and in screenwriting. Through the years, he has received screen credit on at least eight films, ranging from *Rage in Heaven* (1941) —cowritten with Robert Thoeren, about the dissolution of a psychotic (Robert Montgomery) and the impact on those close to him (Ingrid Bergman and George Sanders)—to the television movie *Frankenstein, the True Story* (1973) cowritten with Don Bachardy, a first-rate, compelling treatment of the tale, with Leonard Whiting as the doctor and Michael Sarrazin as the creature.

Isherwood was also one of the writers on *Forever and a Day* (RKO, 1943), the story of a house in London and the generations who lived in it, but a very unusual wartime project in the high degree of collaboration employed to produce it and in its expressed purpose. The off-screen narrator asserts at the film's beginning the wish that "this truly cooperative effort may symbolize the common effort of ourselves and our allies to make secure the ideals for which this picture stands." The rolling list of credits presents the stellar names of seventy-eight actors, twenty-one writers, and seven directors and producers (Rene Clair, Edmund Goulding, Cedric Hardwicke, Frank Lloyd, Victor Saville, Robert Stevenson, and Herbert Wilcox.)

But one of the most interesting—and certainly bizarre—projects which Isherwood was involved with was *The Loved One* (MGM, 1965, directed by Tony Richardson), based on Evelyn Waugh's novel of 1948. Waugh had visited Los Angeles briefly the previous year to discuss with MGM the film rights to his novel *Brideshead Revisited*, a deal which could not be worked out because of censorship problems (times have surely changed, considering the sumptuous, highly successful eleven-part adaptation by Granada for British television in 1981). What Waugh did get from his visit to California was material for a novel presenting the Englishman's recoil at the vulgarity of Los Angeles life—the Hollywood system and Forest Lawn cemetery, in particular. *The Loved One* was meant to outdo Huxley's send-up of Los Angeles culture, including Forest Lawn, in his 1939 novel *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan* (which also dealt with the fabled William Randolph Hearst and Marion Davies at San Simeon—a precursor to *Citizen Kane*).

The script for *The Loved One* offers a black comedy, savagely funny, on the California way of life and death. In this writing collaboration, it seems likely that Isherwood contributed the elements pertaining to the Englishman's view of Los Angeles (such as the scene at the beginning, original with the film, when the protagonist arrives at the city's airport), and Terry Southern contributed the absurdist, "Dr. Strangelove"-like elements (such as blasting bodies in rockets into outer space), since he had worked on that film's script the previous year. In *The Loved One*, the English would-be poet Dennis Barlow (Robert Morse) arrives in Los Angeles, to stay with his uncle Sir Francis Hinsley (John Gielgud), who works for Megalopolitan Pictures. When the aging Hinsley's services are no longer required, he commits suicide, and it falls to Barlow to

WALTER BRENNAN, LAUREN Bacall, and Humphrey Bogart in *To Have and Have Not*. Warner Bros., 1944.

make arrangements at Whispering Glades cemetery—a marvelous parody of Forest Lawn kitsch—with its reproductions of artwork and European churches, and its picnic grounds.

One of the funniest scenes in the film takes place there, with Dennis trying to pick out the appropriate casket and services for his "loved one," with the help of Miss Thanatogenos (Anjanette Comer), to whom he is attracted, and Mr. Starker (Liberace, quite marvelous as a salesman with unctuous poise). Mr. Starker convinces Dennis to choose the best casket lining—silk. ("Rayon chafes, you know. Personally—I find it really quite abrasive.") And when Dennis wonders what is the difference between having the "Eternal Flame" in either "perpetual eternal" or "standard eternal," the right choice is obvious, as Mr. Starker describes them: "Well, with 'standard eternal,' your flame burns only during visiting hours; it is shut down at night. With your 'perpetual eternal' your flame is in service twenty-four hours a day."

Isherwood's role in *The Loved One* project is all the more amusing when we realize that he himself had earlier commented on the absurdities of Forest Lawn's approach in his 1947 essay "Los Angeles," where he recalls seeing an advertisement "in which a charming, well-groomed elderly lady (presumably risen from the dead) assured the public: 'It's better at Forest Lawn. *I speak from experience.*'"[10]

James Agee—essayist, novelist (his posthumous novel *A Death in the Family* won the Pulitzer Prize in 1957)—was regarded by many as one of the most intelligent and perceptive film critics of his time. For Agee, more than the other writers under consideration here, films had been his passion since he was quite young; he was a constant moviegoer. He was film critic for *Time* starting in late 1941, and the following year

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HUMPHREY BOGART AND LAUREN BACALL IN *THE BIG SLEEP*
Warner Bros., 1946.

became film critic for *The Nation* as well. He continued writing for both publications until 1948, when he went to Los Angeles to write essays for *Life* about filmmakers he admired. These well-known articles for *Life* include the September 3, 1949, cover story on silent comedy, "Comedy's Greatest Era," and the September 18, 1950, article on John Huston, "Undirectable Director." In his writing about Huston's films, we find Agee's own philosophy on films as art:

> They continually open the eye and require it to work vigorously; and through the eye they awaken curiosity and intelligence. That, by any virile standard, is the essential to good entertainment. It is unquestionably essential to good art.

Through his experience in meeting John Huston, Agee came to work with him as screenwriter on Huston's next film, *The African Queen*. But mention should also be made of the quality of Agee's other screenwriting efforts, those he wrote on his own (such as *The Blue Hotel* in 1948), which were unproduced in most cases. He was unique in his absolutely visualizing the film, and taking great pains to describe scenes, camera setups, and cutting as though he were the director. Indeed, some of these scripts are virtually unproducible, for they leave no room for a director's touch; only a cameraman is needed. In Agee's first efforts in the late 1930s, he was very much influenced by the avant garde work of directors such as Jean Cocteau, Luis Buñuel, and Salvador Dalí; his screenplays then ("closet dramas," really) were, in a sense, an homage to them.

The African Queen (United Artists, 1951; based on the C. S. Forester novel), set in the Congo during the

CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD AND W. H. AUDEN TRAVELLED TOGETHER to America in 1939. Auden hated California and chose New York; Isherwood became an active screenwriter and lived by the sea in Santa Monica, California, until his death in 1986 at the age of eighty-one. Photograph by Carl Van Vechten, February 6, 1939. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

INGRID BERGMAN AND ROBERT MONTGOMERY IN *RAGE IN HEAVEN.* MGM, 1941.

POSTER ADVERTISING *RAGE IN HEAVEN*. MGM, 1941.
Prints and Photographs Division.

outbreak of World War I, concerns a daring plan by Rose (Katharine Hepburn) to take the steamer the *African Queen*, with its complacent, hard-drinking skipper Charlie Allnut (Humphrey Bogart) down uncharted rivers to destroy a German gunboat which commands the only invasion route open to British forces. Along the way they encounter many dangers, as well as come to know themselves better, and eventually fall in love. As to how much Agee and Huston each wrote on this film, Agee specified in a letter that he wrote the first half, while Huston wrote the second half.[11] Evidence of Agee's skill is seen in a fine bit of business he dreamed up near the beginning of the film, for instance, where Allnut is sitting down to tea with Rose and her proper British missionary brother (Robert Morley). There are strange rumbling noises, which all try politely to ignore at first; these turn out to be the rumbling of Allnut's empty stomach. With a grin, sheepish yet leering, as only Bogart could produce, Allnut confesses, "Ain't a thing I can do about it." After *The African Queen* Agee worked on various other film projects, commissioned but for one reason or another not produced, including *Noa Noa*, a biography of artist Paul Gauguin.

Agee's last completed screenplay was for *The Night of the Hunter* (United Artists, 1955; based on the Davis Grubb novel), produced by Paul Gregory, and

EVELYN WAUGH'S 1947 VISIT TO LOS ANGELES PROVIDED THE material for his novel *The Loved One*. Christopher Isherwood collaborated with Terry Southern on the screenplay. Photograph by Carl Van Vechten, December 18, 1940. *Prints and Photographs Division*.

RUTH WARRICK AND KENT SMITH IN *FOREVER AND A DAY* (RKO, 1943)

the only film which Charles Laughton ever directed. A strange film with medieval implications, it is enhanced by stylized settings and stylized black and white photography shot on location in West Virginia. A psychotic posing as a preacher, Henry Powell (Robert Mitchum), with the word "LOVE" tattooed on one set of knuckles and "HATE" on the other, kills Willa Harper (Shelley Winters) whom he has married in hopes of obtaining a hidden fortune. Only her two little children John and Pearl know the secret of where the money is. They escape and are taken in by kindly widow Rachel (the indomitable Lillian Gish). In one of the scenes showing the little creatures of nature, which contributes to the film's mythical quality, we have Rachel comforting on the lot of the little children. "It's a hard world for little things," juxtaposed with shots showing a trembling rabbit and an owl swooping down. But to Rachel the twisted preacher has met his match. There is a powerful, suspenseful showdown on shadowy night. The evil man is thwarted.

Along with the script, there is interesting evidence in some letters on file in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division concerning the making of *The Night of the Hunter*. It seems that modest Agee felt that director Charles Laughton's role in assisting him with the screenplay was large enough to warrant a shared credit for writing, as Agee expressed in a letter to producer Paul Gregory on January 14, 1955. Gregory's letter of February 10, 1955, in response to Agee's assured him that he and Laughton had discussed the matter at length and felt that no change should be made in the screenwriting credit. It was to be Agee's alone, for his contribution was substantial; the film was great, and something of which Agee could be proud.

Even more interesting is another comment Agee made in his letter to Gregory, bearing as it does on the film's cinematic style and powerful impact; it seems that the films of D. W. Griffith were of some influence. Agee is very eager to see *The Night of the Hunter* remarking that

> I'm fascinated, and about 95 percent confident, on many things which Charles learned, and showed me, out of the Griffith films we saw. If they do work, and I think they will, they're going to make movie story telling faster, and more gesturely movie, than they've been in many years.

The film was indeed an unusual, effective piece of work. Unfortunately, by May 1955 James Agee was dead, several months before the film was released. But Agee left a legacy of much crafted screenplays, as well as perceptive film criticism. His reviews and comments were collected in *Agee on Film* (1958), which is prefaced with an October 16, 1944, letter from W. H. Auden to the editors of *The Nation*. Here Auden confesses that "I do not care for movies very much and I rarely see them," yet he is moved to write in praise of the "Astonishing excellence" of Agee's film columns — "the most remarkable regular event in American journalism today."[9]

From this brief look at some of the best film work by Hawks, Chandler, Faulkner, Isherwood, and Agee, it seems evident that contrary to popular myth, the time these writers spent in Hollywood writing for films should be regarded as something valuable — both in terms of their own careers and their contribution to the art of film.

HUMPHREY BOGART IN THE AFRICAN QUEEN. UNITED ARTISTS, 1951.

Notes

1. On the Hollywood years of Fitzgerald, Faulkner, West, Hawks, and Agee, see Jean Hagen, Notes Essays on the Sort (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976).

2. For more on Nelle Vassell's life and association in Los Angeles (as well as her career as an actress with Max Reinhardt in Berlin), see her autobiography, The Knight and Nelle (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969). On emigres in Los Angeles, also see John Russo, The Hollywood Exiles (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1976).

3. Quoted in Nelle Bedford, Julius Hawks: A Biography (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Harper & Row, 1974), 49 et. p. 308.

4. Letter Vol. 1 July 1944, to Elmer Smith, ed. Letters of Julius Hawks (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969), p. 97. On Hawks' life and work in Hollywood, see Virginia M. Clark, Julius Hawks and Film (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1990).

5. Studies of Chandler and film include: William Luhr, Raymond Chandler and Film (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1982), and Stephen Poole, Raymond Chandler on Screen: His Novels into Film (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976).

6. See Matthew J. Bruccoli's Afterword to Raymond Chandler, The Blue Dahlia: A Screenplay (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976), p. 120.

7. The only located copy of the script is in the Raymond Chandler Collection at UCLA's Research Library, but see Raymond Chandler, The Blue Dahlia: A Screenplay (cited above), which has the script as well as producer John Houseman's account of the project, in "Lost Formula: A Memoir," originally in Harper's Magazine, 231 (August 1965).

8. See Bruce F. Kawin, Faulkner and Film (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1977), and Bruce F. Kawin, ed., Faulkner's MGM Screenplays (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982). Also on the script see John Faulkner, Dr. Hawk and Hawk Nest (Madison:

POSTER advertising *The African Queen*. United Artists, 1951. *Prints and Photographs Division.*

ROBERT MITCHUM AND BILLY CHAPIN IN *THE NIGHT OF THE HUNTER*.
United Artists, 1955.

ADVERTISEMENT FROM A PRESS BOOK FOR *THE Night of the Hunter.* United Artists, 1955.

ROBERT MITCHUM, DIRECTOR CHARLES LAUGHTON, and producer Paul Gregory, *The Night of the Hunter.* United Artists, 1955.

Published for the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research by the University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).

9. The dialogue cutting continuities for *Race to Heaven, Forever and a Day,* and *The Loved One* are all in the collection of the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division.

10. Collected in Christopher Isherwood, *Exhumations: Stories, Articles, Verse* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 161. For more on Isherwood's life in Los Angeles, see his *My Guru and His Disciple* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1980).

11. Letter to director David Bradley in 1953, according to Danks, *Some Time in the Sun,* p. 213.

12. In James Agee, *Agee on Film* (New York: McDowell, Obolensky, Inc., 1958).

Unless otherwise noted, the illustrations in this article are from the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division.

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VIRGINIA M. CLARK counts writing and film among her passions. She holds a Ph.D. in English with Film Studies from the University of Maryland, where she taught English Composition, Literature, and Film for eight years. She has served as Education Liaison for The American Film Institute in Los Angeles, where she was born. The film business is in her blood, since her father, Vernon E. Clark, produced or wrote many of the television shows of the fifties and sixties, including "Highway Patrol" and "Lassie." More recently, Virginia has worked in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division at the Library of Congress, where she was researcher on the *AFI Catalog: Feature Films, 1911-1920* and *1921-1930.* She has written *Alfred Hayes and Film,* among other publications, contributed to Magill's *Survey of Cinema,* and edited several of AFI's Faculties on film video grants, scholarships, festivals, and awards.

LIVE TELEVISION IS ALIVE AND WELL AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

EVERY SUNDAY AFTERNOON WE used to get together in a TV studio and play Russian roulette. Or so it seemed. That was in the 1950s and 1960s, the great years of "live" television, when as little as a missed cue could throw an entire cast into panic, and reduce a nationwide audience to derisive guffaws.

Still, many brave souls—performers, directors, technicians—dared to expose themselves to this form of bravura, dared to pull the trigger just once more on the gamble that the next cylinder was empty; and all for the bubble reputation.

First you must understand what live television is not like: it is not like making a movie. That process can take a year to prepare for, is then filmed at the pace of two pages of script per day for 100 days, after which the jumbled pieces of film are painstakingly fitted together like a puzzle. In contrast, live television could complete twenty-six ninety-minute shows in the same time frame, and have material left over for next season.

No time was lost in live: at the same instant the program was being performed in a Manhattan studio, it was being watched by millions nationwide, for live television erases distance, putting the play right in the living room. That demands perfection.

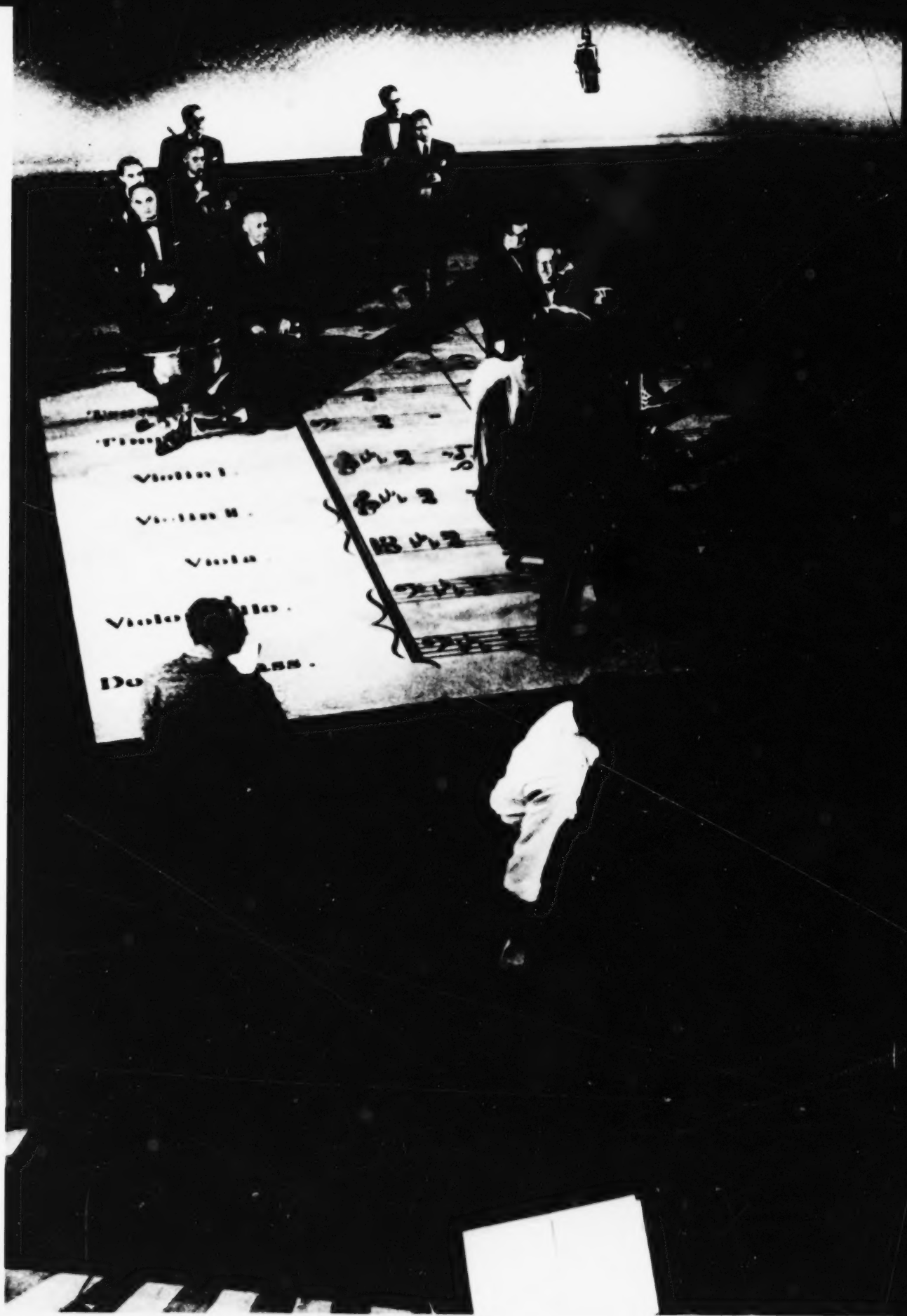
Unlike making a movie, there is no second chance; you have to be right the first time. However, because the quality of live resonates to the pitch of its own high-strung nature, everyone is on his mettle; memorizing and rehearsing whole plays in a single week; plotting precise lighting cues; practicing taking a fall down a flight of stairs or some other perilous piece of stage business.

The fifties and sixties were marked not only by hairbreadth physical risks, but also experiments in form

HOST MILTON BERLE BROUGHT years of canny stage experience to "The Texaco Star Theatre," relying on outlandish costumes and visual humor. He made the series number one for three seasons, 1948/1949–1950/1951. Also during this series, Berle endearingly dubbed himself "Uncle Miltie." NBC donated numerous kinescopes of broadcasts of this series to the Library of Congress in 1986. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

BY ROBERT SAUDEK

THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY'S STUDIO 8-G, OFFICIALLY opened by NBC at Rockefeller Center, New York, on April 22, 1948. Seen here, it is set up for four separate and consecutive broadcasts. Because shows were broadcast live—not filmed beforehand and edited to perfection before broadcast—it was essential that studios be well-equipped and spacious.


Violin I
Violin II
Violin
Viola
Violoncello

BEATRICE LILLIE AND BOB HOPE IN "THE STAR SPANGLED REVUE," Hope's television debut, April 9, 1950. The Library acquired kinescope copies of this early variety program in 1986 as part of the NBC Television Collection, a gift from NBC of over 18,000 television programs. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY'S STUDIO 8-G, OFFICIALLY opened by NBC at Rockefeller Center, New York, on April 22, 1948. Seen here, it is set up for four separate and consecutive broadcasts. Because shows were broadcast live—not filmed beforehand and edited to perfection before broadcast—it was essential that studios be well-equipped and spacious.

"OMNIBUS" (1952-1959), THE INNOVATIVE CULTURAL SERIES underwritten by the Ford Foundation, combined talents of numerous artists, including the young composer Leonard Bernstein in his television debut. Broadcast November 14, 1954, the "Omnibus" segment entitled "An Analysis of the First Movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony" used the effectively novel idea of putting the score on the floor. At right, Bernstein stands next to the piano. (The manuscript facsimile was courtesy of the New York Public Library.) All seven seasons of this landmark series are held by the Library in its Wesleyan University Collection. *Photo copyright © Roy Stevens.*

OLYMPIC SWIMMER ESTHER WILLIAMS DEMONSTRATES HER DIVING technique to members of the Yale Swimming Team in New Haven in a segment from the cultural series "Omnibus," entitled "Advice to Bathers," broadcast by CBS on October 30, 1955. The series, produced by Robert Saudek, continued to be innovative throughout its entire run, 1952 to 1961. ***Photo copyright © Roy Stevens.***

and substance which largely vanished in the videotape age. Alistair Cooke, although a brilliant overseas correspondent for a British newspaper and for BBC Radio, was all but unknown here in 1952. But in that year he became the permanent host of "Omnibus," and thereby began one-third of a century as the most cultivated and admired host on our air. Leonard Bernstein was discovered as a musical essayist when he went on live television to illustrate the arts of musical creation and performance. Gene Kelly found his place in the TV sun with his own illustrated "Omnibus" essay, "Dancing: A Man's Game." On live television Helen Hayes revived one of her most popular plays, James M. Barrie's *Dear Brutus*. Agnes De Mille performed illustrated essays on "The Art of Ballet." Peter Ustinov entered American television as Dr. Samuel Johnson. A Boston lawyer, Joseph N. Welch, began a live TV career in the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954 and went on to narrate three live essays about the Constitution, on "Omnibus."

Dozens of vital programs and events thrived on live television—politics, sports, comedy, drama, dance and music, and ceremonial news—as did scores of performers, including Jack Benny, Fred Allen, Bert Lahr, Jimmy Durante, Jonathan Winters, Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy, Fred Astaire, and Ethel Merman. But only a few subject areas—sports, ceremonials, and, to some extent, news—survive as live TV experiences; the rest have sacrificed spontaneity for technically suave television with its added incentives of profitable syndication and the home video market. It is undeniable (except to codgers like myself) that videotape and

URBANE "OMNIBUS" HOST ALISTAIR COOKE, UNFLAPPED BY THE RICHES SURROUNDING HIM, INTRODUCES THE SECOND SEGMENT OF "OMNIBUS" aired March 6, 1955—a close-up of rare gems and the techniques of displaying them. Born in England but a naturalized American citizen, journalist Cooke contributed his intelligence and wit to the success of "Omnibus" and handled the pressure of live television with ease. *Photo copyright © Roy Stevens.*

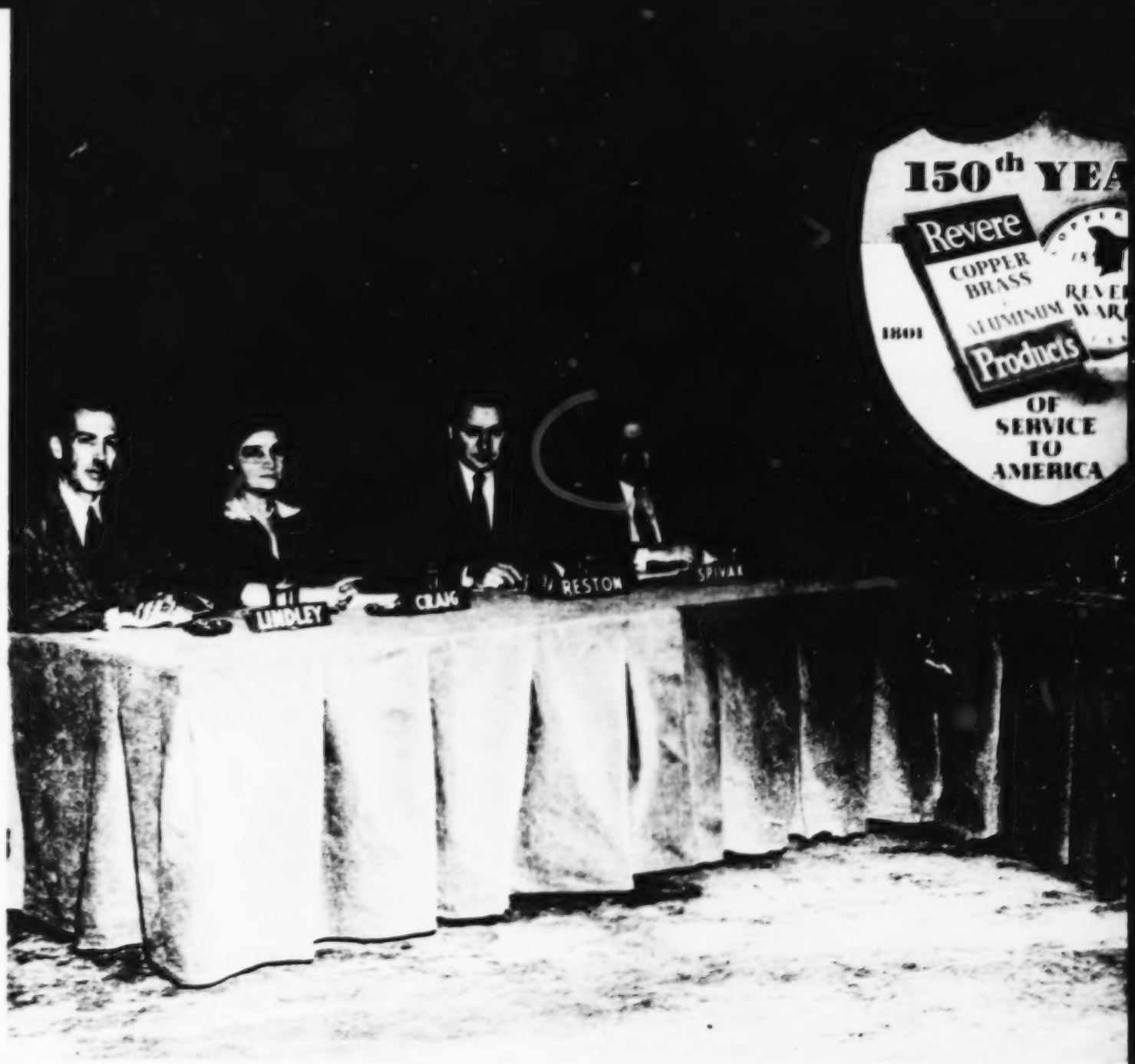
GRANDE DAME OF THE BALLET AGNES DE MILLE DANCES IN "THE Art of Ballet," a feature of the February 26, 1956, live broadcast of "Omnibus." The dancers of the American Ballet Theatre surround Miss De Mille. *Photo copyright © Roy Stevens.*

THE FAMILIAR NASAL VOICE OF FRED ALLEN (LEFT) COULD BE HEARD in some of the funniest skits ever to grace television programs, including "The Colgate Hour" in 1950 (the series ran from 1950 to 1955 on NBC), when Allen was joined by other denizens of "Allen's Alley"—(from left) Kenny Delmar as Senator Claghorn, Minerva Pious as Mrs. Nussbaum, Peter Donald as Ajax Cassidy, and Parker Fennelly as Titus Moody. The recent NBC Television Collection gift includes kinescopes of nearly all the broadcasts of this live Sunday evening variety series. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

color represent progress in TV production. Race horses do not run faster, but jockeys in their bright silks bedazzle us like a jar of jellybeans.

The elaborate live TV production of the late fifties certainly had its handicaps. The cameras themselves were enormous, tanklike vehicles wagging their electronic tails behind them while a band of hearty fellows pushed them around on pneumatic tires as if they were simply go-carts. Lacking zoom lenses, cameras had to do their own zooming—rolling in tight for a close-up, swinging back into the corner for a master shot. (Look out for that monster crane charging at you, its camera grazing the overhead catwalks!) Lanky microphone booms are dipping and stretching to their own calisthenics. Here and there TelePrompTer scrolls stand like yellow signals on a railroad track. In action, all this oversized mobile hardware becomes a mortal threat to anyone trying to cross the studio floor.

Other live TV on-air hazards were the stuff of a producer's nightmare: a flustered Camera One takes a picture of Camera Two. A flustered stagehand, finding himself walking right into the shot, crouches and crawls



ON "MEET THE PRESS" OF DECEMBER 2, 1951, YOUNG Massachusetts congressman John F. Kennedy is questioned by empaneled journalists Ernest K. Lindley, May Craig, James Reston, and Lawrence Spivak, with moderator Martha Rountree to Kennedy's right. Network television's oldest series, "Meet the Press" began in 1947. The Library's collection of broadcasts of this series was a gift from the show's panelist-moderator Lawrence E. Spivak and NBC and includes this program. Kinescopes of most early episodes, beginning with February 6, 1949, are held by the Library, as are complete transcripts of each program. The "Meet the Press" programs total over 1200; probably half are kinescopes.

"THE TEXACO STAR THEATRE" RECEIVED AN EMMY IN 1949 AS THE best kinescope show of the year. The comedy variety series ran on NBC from 1948 to 1953, and became known as "The Milton Berle Show." Here, from left, Jean Sablon, Milton Berle in drag, Victor Moore, and Gracie Fields in a musical skit. The Library's NBC Television Collection contains kinescopes of examples of this popular series. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

SINGER PERRY COMO FIRST APPEARED ON TELEVISION in 1948. He stayed for three decades. A nearly complete set of kinescopes of his musical variety series "The Perry Como Show" (1955-1963) resides at the Library in the NBC Television Collection. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

my fives marks, smooth their hair, the whole cast seems to be clearing their throats in a wild *Hosenspiel.*" Some prepare by chewing their eyelids in momentary peace mode.

Silence. The control room second hand sweeps past 4:59:30 and begins its endless climb towards the moment of truth. Not a mark is heard—only heavy breathing and the sound of each pounding heart.

Five . . . four . . . three . . . two . . .

Camera One's earphone carries the command: "Like one!"

Camera One's crew works to calls and

Earphone: "Cue Alistair"

Alistair: "Ohmmhm"

Earphone: "Music? . . . and roll the billboard!"

The music swells, the opening billboard rolls, Cue and

THIS MAY 29, 1951, PHOTO SHOWS ELEANOR ROOSEVELT REPORTING to President Truman on her five-week trip to Geneva as Representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Beginning with Pres. Harry S Truman, U.S. presidents have been thoroughly covered in TV public affairs. For example, the Library's collections include a kinescope of President Truman giving the press a May 3, 1952, tour of the renovated White House. Although Franklin D. Roosevelt just missed the TV era, Eleanor Roosevelt appears numerous times, serving as moderator of "Mrs. Roosevelt Meets the Public," a Sunday afternoon panel show (1950-1951). Kinescopes of over thirty broadcasts from this series reside in the Library's NBC Television Collection.

DINAH SHORE HAD HAD HER OWN RADIO SERIES SINCE 1939 when she went over to television in 1951 as host of "The Dinah Shore Chevy Show" sponsored by Chevrolet. This show and others of Miss Shore's are retained almost to toto in the Library's TV collection, as kinescopes in the NBC Television Collection. *Photo courtesy of NBC.*

SEN. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY (REPUBLICAN OF WISCONSIN) BECAME a well-known visage on the TV screen in the 1950s. Claiming in 1950 that the Department of State was harboring Communists and, later, accusing the Eisenhower administration of treason brought McCarthy attention. In April 1954, the senator took on the U.S. Army in the nationally televised, live, rancorous Army-McCarthy hearings. Following closely after McCarthy's televised encounter with Edward R. Murrow ("Uncreased at the jacket pack"), the hearings were McCarthy's swan song. *Photo from Chicago station WBBM, 1954.*

LIVE TV COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS ALSO began in 1948. Two elections later, the August 1956 Republican nominating convention was held in San Francisco's Cow Palace. Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower was nominated to run for a second term. Smiling here, he stands under hundreds of balloons which were released during the wild demonstration which greeted his appearance. To his left are Mamie Eisenhower and Vice-Pres. Richard M. Nixon.

crew are up for performance: another opening, another "live" show, another memory.

MORE ABOUT LIVE TV
BY SARAH ROUSE

A bit of background will show how live television, once Robert Saudek's world when he produced the memorable television series "Omnibus," fits into the history of broadcasting.

Live television – TV programs performed and broadcast simultaneously, with no intermediate retakes or editing – is important for two reasons: it is usually early TV programming, and as such is valuable to historians and scholars of broadcasting; and most live television was quite innovative, so examples of these vibrant performances show us television at its best.

Rare, and prized by broadcasting archives, live TV programs at the Library of Congress have recently increased tenfold. This is due to an aggressive policy of retrospective television acquisition – to balance the collections – begun by Robert Saudek, chief of the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division. Before Saudek, nearly five hundred live programs of the long-running public affairs series "Meet the Press" were acquired as part of the Library's

LIVE TV COVERAGE OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS BEGAN IN 1948 and continues today. In November of 1960, presidential candidate Sen. John F. Kennedy (Democrat of Massachusetts) and vice-presidential candidate Lyndon B. Johnson (Democrat of Texas) beam at the crowd during the last big rally—in New York's Coliseum—of Kennedy's campaign, while veteran campaigner Eleanor Roosevelt speaks to Johnson.

GULF
NO NOX

PRES. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER ENTHUSIASTICALLY greets prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India on the North Portico of the White House, December 16, 1956. Their conference would include discussions of world peace. Such meetings, as well as presidential press conferences, became regular fare for live TV network broadcasts as early as 1948. Much of NBC's presidential press conference material is held by the Library of Congress as part of the 1986 gift of news and entertainment programs from NBC.

KINESCOPES OF NBC'S SUNDAY AFTERNOON documentary series "Wide Wide World" (1955-1958), featuring live reports from locations throughout North America, were donated to the Library of Congress beginning in 1956. In front of Washington, D.C., NBC affiliate's TV cameras are (left to right): representing the series' sponsor, General Motors, S. E. Skinner; Davidson Taylor of NBC; and Librarian of Congress L. Quincy Mumford.

"WE, THE PEOPLE" BEGAN ON RADIO IN 1936, AND metamorphosed into a TV series in 1948. In 1949, host Dwight Weist was replaced by Dan Seymour. The series combined celebrity interviews with human interest stories. In this photo, circa 1949, the show is about to begin; in the theater can be seen a prop for the commercial interludes (the Gulf gas pump), panelists and host, TV cameraman with large stationary camera, and lighting technicians. Broadcasts of this program from 1950 are part of the Library's kinescope collections.

LIVE PRESENTATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES OCCURRED IN 1960. HERE, A TV SCREEN image of presidential hopefuls John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon in their third 1960 debate, aired October 13, 1960, live, over the TV networks. A kinescope of this debate is part of the Library's collection of public affairs television programming.

CONDUCTOR ARTURO TOSCANINI AND THE NBC SYMPHONY WERE featured on a March 26, 1949, special live television performance of classical music. Thereafter, Toscanini was a distinguished performer in numerous other NBC Symphony appearances. The NBC Television Collection brought kinescopes of several of these fine programs to the Library's permanent collections.

Lawrence E. Spivak-"Meet the Press" Collection, the earliest being a 1949 broadcast of Warren G. Magnuson. Other live programs have been added to the collections through copyright deposit. During Saudek's tenure, all the programs of the live series "Omnibus" were acquired in 1986 from Wesleyan University. Most of the Library's live television programs belong to the NBC Television Collection. Acquired in 1986, this huge collection numbers approximately 18,000 titles and spans 1948 to 1977; live television predominates

in the 1948-1960 portion of this collection.

In the Library of Congress's collection of over forty thousand TV programs, the earliest is from 1939. The show is an NBC test recording made from a striated, poorly focused image on the studio monitor. The program was live, a stagey production entitled "The Streets of New York."

In that same year, NBC's experimental TV schedule included a daily live program from Studio 3H in Radio City, one from NBC's mobile unit, and assorted

"TODAY" WAS NETWORK TELEVISION'S FIRST EARLY MORNING PROGRAM—IT BEGAN IN 1952—and became one of its most profitable. Sylvester "Pat" ("Your Show of Shows") Weaver, creative broadcasting executive at NBC, realized that television was more than just radio with pictures and developed "Today" as pure television. Long-time "Today" newscaster Frank Blair grabs a quick breakfast in this off-camera shot, circa 1961. NBC donated a large number of kinescopes of "Today" to the Library in 1986.

LIVE TELEVISION WAS USUAL IN THE 1950S BUT, DUE TO ADVANCING technology, had all but disappeared by 1970. Exception: the historic moon walks of astronauts from Apollo 11 and subsequent Apollo moon landings. Shown here is a TV screen on February 5, 1971. "Live from the moon" was the subtitle appearing on TV screens on that date.

films. The studio programs—live—included bits of opera, comedians, singers, and kitchen demonstrations.[1] But in 1939, American television was not really ready for the general public.

The Second World War intervened; by war's end, technical and corporate realignment had occurred. In 1945, the postwar work force, technical facilities freed from wartime demands, and radio profits to pay for TV development energized progress in TV broadcasting. But from 1948 to 1952, due to technical difficulties and the Korean War, President Truman declared a TV freeze. Well, sort of a freeze: most major cities had only one station, but New York and Los Angeles each had their full complement of seven stations during this period.[2]

There was film content in early TV broadcasting: travelogues, old cartoons, government documentaries, and minor film studios' gangster films as well as *B*-westerns cut to fit TV time slots. (The Library's first TV acquisition in its huge Copyright Collection is a cut-down-for-television Gene Autry feature film.) But the most compelling, original TV material was being performed live.

NBC and CBS since their formation as radio corporations had held recorded programs to a minimum. While wartime and postwar use of recording techniques modified this policy in radio, television's corporate heads like David Sarnoff and William Paley were said to be determined that live production would continue to dominate the TV airwaves.[3] So the networks continued to stay with live.

But production pressures in live television were brutal. Economic factors, too—live performers' union pay scales which were not geared to repeated broadcasts of live programs, and the nonavailability of air prints of live television for syndication—pointed to the use of filmed programs in TV entertainment. Many episodic series which had come to television via radio had largely

"SING ALONG WITH MITCH" FEATURED GOATEED COMPOSER-arranger Mitch Miller leading the Sing-Along Gang and was aired weekly on NBC, 1961 to 1964. Here, Miller is shown in a rehearsal hall at Eighth Avenue, with production staff and cast in the background. Forty-six complete programs, in the form of kinescope negatives, have come to the Library as part of the NBC Television gift.

"gone to film" by the midfifties.[4] But other TV programming, such as on-the-spot news coverage, sports, public affairs programs like "Meet the Press," comedy and musical variety programs, and dramatic anthology series stayed live. In particular, the musical-comedy variety programs and drama anthologies thrived, because they derived from the theater and used performers comfortable with appearing live.

Memorable drama anthologies were produced in the 1950s. Among those represented in the NBC Television Collection in the Library are "Philco Television Playhouse," "Goodyear Television Playhouse," "Kraft

NOT HIGHLY REGARDED BUT CONSIDERED PART OF THE **programming which constitutes broadcast history are daytime serials, or "soap operas." One such serial, "Young Doctor Malone," is represented by twenty episodes from 1962 and is part of the large NBC Television gift acquired by the Library in 1986. Shot on the set of the serial, this photo shows the bulky camera and boom microphone required to broadcast this program.**

"MEET THE PRESS" 'S LAWRENCE SPIVAK WAS ENTERPRISING ENOUGH **to take the Sunday afternoon program to the 1960 Democratic Convention at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. Broadcast live, guest Sen. Lyndon Johnson (Democrat of Texas) sits with moderator Ned Brooks, with panelists beyond. In the foreground, a TV monitor shows the image which is the kinescope recording of the program, part of the Spivak Collection in the Library of Congress.**

Television Theater," "Studio One," "Robert Montgomery Presents," "Matinee Theater," and "Playhouse 90." These anthologies capitalized on the numerous young actors and comedians anxious for work, and on energetic and innovative producers, directors, and writers who created them.

An important series was "Omnibus." Established by the Ford Foundation's TV-Radio Workshop and carried on by commercial sponsors, "Omnibus" was a ninety-minute cultural series, each program comprising several segments of varying lengths, including live dramas, dance

"DANCING—A MAN'S GAME" TOOK UP THE ENTIRE NINETY MINUTES of the December 21, 1958, live broadcast of "Omnibus." Gene Kelly was host and principal performer; he danced with sportsmen Mickey Mantle, Sugar Ray Robinson, and Johnny Unitas. Shown here are Kelly and Sugar Ray Robinson. The concept—producer Robert Saudek's—was pure television; the execution was pure bliss.

SHOWN HERE IS A PORTION OF NBC'S NEWS FILM VAULT, NOVEMBER 1961, filled with reels of kinescope and film of live and edited broadcasts. Nearly half of the material contained in the Library's NBC Television Collection is kinescope; much of that is news material.

and music, history and science, and occasional filmed pieces. The series won awards and a devoted following. The Library has copies of all 166 programs from this notable series.

Kinescopes and Film Chains

Because programs were live rather than prerecorded, the actors rehearsed, then performed their parts once for the broadcast cameras in the studio. Although the as-broadcast image was visible in the studio on the monitor, it was not regularly recorded. Sometimes the studio would be equipped with a type of 16mm camera —a kinescope recorder—whose lens was trained on the studio monitor; the result was a kinescope recording. Only if kinescopes were made would these otherwise ephemeral live performances be retained for posterity.

These rare kinescopes are archival material, not for viewing. But the Library of Congress maintains a complex film-to-tape transfer system called a "film chain." Together, the components of the film chain—chiefly the Rank Cintel "flying spot scanner"—can replicate kinescope pictures and sounds on videotape. With skilled engineers painstakingly copying each valuable kinescope, the film chain is the Library's link between these often unique recordings of live television programs and the scholarly and interested public served by the Library daily. Careful copying of each kinescope on videotape will preserve the original kinescope for archival purposes, provide a 1-inch master video copy for further copying, and finally result in a ¾-inch video reference copy for patron study in the Library of Congress.

EDDIE CANTOR, LIKE MANY VAUDEVILLE PERFORMERS WHO MADE sacrifices in their performing style on radio, managed to recoup some of these losses on live television. Cantor frequently guest-hosted on "The Colgate Comedy Hour," an NBC variety program which competed successfully with "The Ed Sullivan Show" in 1950 through 1954. He also hosted and occasionally starred on "The Eddie Cantor Comedy Theater," a syndicated variety-comedy series in 1955. The Library of Congress holdings of numerous episodes of "The Colgate Comedy" with Cantor as host, and eight episodes of Cantor's own series reveal to modern audiences one of show business's great personalities.

JERRY LEWIS WAS THE GUEST ON "YOUTH WANTS TO KNOW," JULY 28, 1957. EACH WEEK A GUEST WAS QUESTIONED BY A GROUP OF HIGH school students who asked questions which were often tricky to handle on live television. Series producer Theodore Granik produced another live program, "American Forum of the Air," a lively debate-format public affairs show which was formerly a radio program. Live and unrehearsed, both series are well represented in the Library of Congress collection of kinescopes. These are in the Granik Collection; program transcripts and production papers are kept in the Library's Manuscript Division.

Notes

1. Erik Barnouw, *Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 90.
2. Ibid., p. 113.
3. Ibid., p. 131.
4. Ibid., p. 154.

ROBERT SAUDEK, chief of the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division, was one of the pioneers of television; he is considered responsible for much of the gold in the "golden age of television." As director of the Ford Foundation's TV Radio Workshop in the 1950s, Mr. Saudek produced "Omnibus," which *TV Guide* called television's "biggest gamble," but which became one of the most honored TV series of the 1950s and 1960s, presenting 166 programs, virtually all of them live. More recently, Mr. Saudek was founding president of the Museum of Broadcasting in New York City. Since his appointment to the Library of Congress in 1983, he has been instrumental in the acquisition of all of the "Omnibus" series, as well as the gift of 18,000 TV programs from NBC, making the Library the largest publicly accessible archive of TV broadcasting in this country.

SARAH ROUSE has been a TV and film cataloger in the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division since 1976. She is cocompiler of *Three Decades of Television* (1987), a catalog of the Library's TV holdings of 14,000 titles as of 1980. She has also published articles on the Embassy of South Vietnam Collection of newsreels and propaganda films, and on the public affairs TV programs of Theodore Granik; both collections are part of the Division's collection of over one hundred thousand moving image materials. Ms. Rouse began her career by working for "18th Century Fox," the Colonial Williamsburg film production unit.

"[illegible] COMING TO [illegible] ..." A San Francisco Examiner editorial cartoonist Jim Ivey's observation on world leaders' response to the live Kennedy-Nixon TV debates of 1960. By 1968, most television was taped or filmed ahead of time, edited, and broadcast later.

COLOR AND MUSIC AND MOVEMENT

THE FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT LIVES ON IN THE PAGES OF ITS PRODUCTION BULLETINS

A MAIN STREET scene displays an ad for the 1938 Federal Theatre Project production of *Men of Steel*, a drama that dealt with "the prime question today—whether Rugged Capitalism, Liberalism or Communism is right, or wrong." For right, the cover of the production bulletin for the Detroit FTP's staging of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* has its own Elizabethan poise. Most bulletins are not so artistically bound.

BY RUTH B. KERNS

Many a youngster grows up nowadays without any experience whatsoever of the magic of the legitimate Theatre. "Show" to them means a darkened Motion Picture house. The color and Music and movement of real players on a real stage are something outside their ken.

I do not know whether the directors of the local Federal Theatre and Music Projects had this in mind, when they chose Victor Herbert's delightful operetta, "Babes in Toyland" to present during the holiday vacation Period, but it was to me one very happy inspiration.

Review from the Cincinnati Post, December 29, 1936, included in the Federal Theatre Project production bulletin for Babes in Toyland

AS MANY FOREBEARERS IN THE Federal Theatre Project (FTP) created a new dynamic of the American stage. Thousands of artists—famous and unknown—excited new audiences in every region of the land. Orson Welles drew crowds to Harlem for the "voodoo" *Macbeth*. Traveling caravans brought the magic of live talent to children in schools and in parks. Programs in towns across the country received the struggles of the nation's past and in dozens of cities Living Newspapers, a theatre of processes to today's disturbance, extolled contemporary national issues. The Federal Theatre presented both the traditional and the avant-garde. It was a people's theatre, sponsored and produced for the people by the people.

Production Bulletin
MERRY WIVES

Blacks and whites, women and men, young and old—all joined together in this best theatrical flowering funded by American government for Americans everywhere.

Thanks to many unsung artists in the FTP and the project's central record keeping office, the National Service Bureau in New York City, a unique record of the work period in American theatrical history survives in production bulletins that form part of the Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection housed in Special Collections and Archives, Fenwick Library, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia. These bulletins are variously bound (some are unbound) and in a variety of states of completion, but generally include a synopsis of the production; a statement regarding credits for the director's report, the composer's report, and various technical reports; set plans and photographs; costume notes, designs, and photographs (sometimes one set of photographs shows both set and costume designs); suggested music; press notices; notations on audience reaction; and programs.

Sometimes, depending on care, interest, and the time available to the compiler, production bulletins also contain such data as lists of props, flats, lighting plans, attendance records, performance locations, letters, costs, blueprints, small posters, small billboard sheets, sound plots, photographs taken at intermission, wardrobe items, biographies of the cast and of the author, and examples of promotional materials.

The FTP produced a wide variety of classical and original drama, children's theater, black theater, puppet theater, dance, musicals, vaudeville, and foreign language drama. Sometimes a play was produced in several cities. In such cases, production bulletins from each or some of the individual productions may survive.

The spirit and energy of each production are usually revealed in the synopsis. Describing Living Newspapers, for example: Two of these were staged, including *One Third of a Nation*, dramatizing the need for better housing in America, whose title came from a famous phrase in Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt's second inaugural address; *Power*, which called for public ownership of utilities; *Triple-A Plowed Under*, which advocated an alliance between farmers and consumers so the two groups would gain, respectively, higher incomes and cheaper food; and *Injunction Granted*, which traced the history of labor in America. But perhaps the most daring and unusual was *Spirochete*, an imaginative drama dealing with syphilis. In the production bulletin for the Chicago presentation of this Living Newspaper, the synopsis writer proclaims the fervor with which the drama was undertaken when he describes it as:

> [illegible] and [illegible] propaganda [about] the most dreadful of social diseases and its attendance in Europe in the epidemic of Christopher Columbus. The [illegible] of syphilis, as scorned, laughed at, and discussed, all but kept [illegible]. [illegible] dared [illegible] but usually [illegible] and [illegible]. And then [illegible] on the march [illegible] and
> We have just succeeded [illegible]

Shifting across the country to San Francisco and to another realm of drama altogether, the synopsis writer

Something to be whispered about out loud!

an imaginatively conceived program for the Chicago production of *Spirochete*, perhaps FTP's most daring and unusual Living Newspaper production

SPOT NEWS

The Living Newspaper

LIVING DRAMA

Vol. 1 No. 2 | WALNUT ST. THEATRE | Oct., 1938

SLUM HOUSING DRAMATIZED

AMERICA'S MOST WIDELY DISCUSSED PLAY OPENS IN CITY

Walter Winchell, in the New York Daily Mirror, stated: "The major episode of the week belongs to the Federal Theatre, which submitted a spell-binding document christened 'One Third of a Nation.'"

The historic Walnut Street Theatre, oldest in the Nation, adds another page to its colorful history in the presentation by Federal Theatre of the Living Newspaper Drama . . . "one third of a Nation."

The Walnut has seen faces and names that are immortal, but no stage effects or production methods have been so startling, nor so dramatic, as are those utilized by James Light in this opening play of the current season.

Three levels on stage, a disembodied voice, slides and swiftly

Cont. Page 6

CAREFUL RESEARCH ASSURES ACCURACY IN WRITING DRAMA

Federal Writers Project Assembles Remarkable Data

More thorough than a lawyer preparing a brief, research workers of the Federal Writers' Project, gathering facts and figures for the Philadelphia version of "One Third of a Nation," left little to the imagination of the script writers.

Innumerable newspaper accounts of "human interest" stories, chronicles of shelter epidemics and much data on the housing problem were combed for material. But even these sources, ordinarily considered accurate enough, were used as a basis for further research work, which led to actual court records, police documents and verbatim reports of significant speeches.

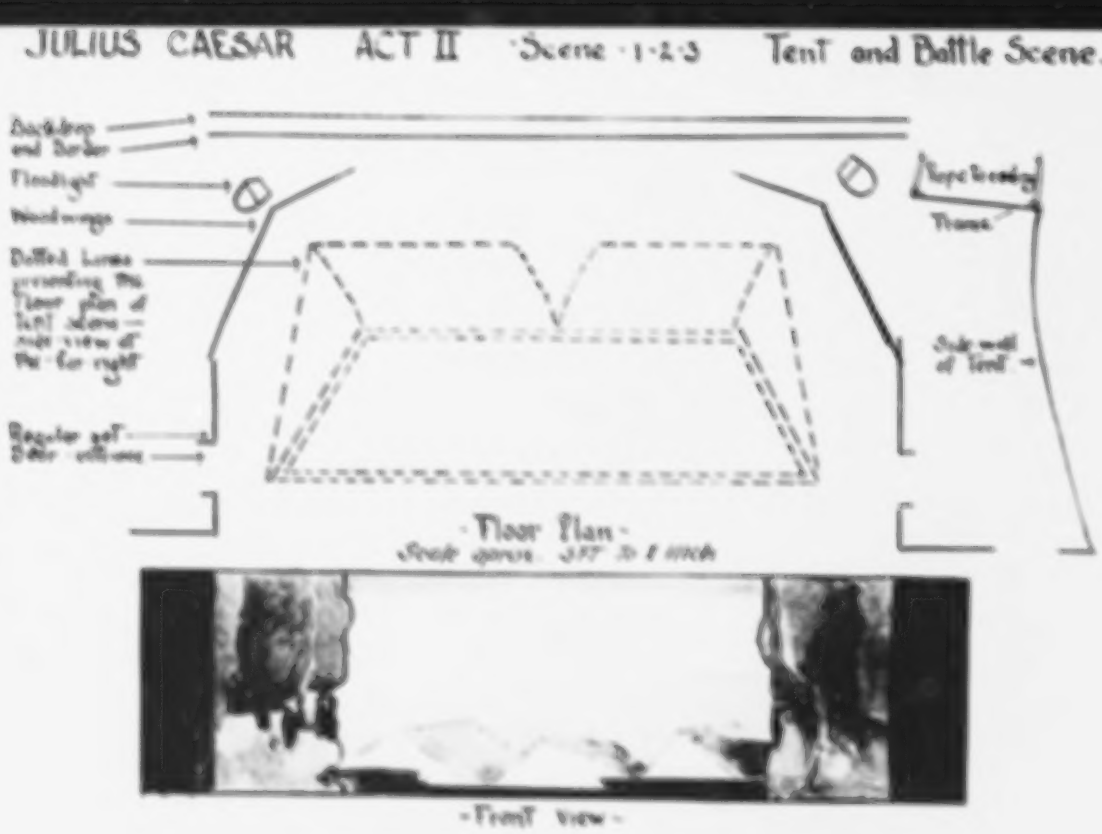
Taking the original script, as written by Arthur Arent to cover the New York housing situation, and revising it to portray Philadelphia's own problem was a task that required painstaking study of Philadelphia's housing history, as far back as the arrival of the first white settlers. Some of the work would have been easy in the line of a city monitor, but perhaps more difficult, for this was a hunt for dramatic situations as well as factual information.

So startling are some of the facts revealed in "One Third of a Nation" that no opportunity for details was permitted to slip by unnoticed. Each statement is thoroughly documented and the complete bibliography is printed in other columns of this program.

Cont. Page 6

A PHILADELPHIA PRODUCTION OF *ONE THIRD OF A NATION* WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THIS PROGRAM, WHICH GAVE CAST AND PRODUCTION production credits inside, while providing production information and a bibliography on slum housing on its front and back covers.

THIS MODERN DRESS CAESAR from the Delaware Federal Theatre production of *Julius Caesar in Modern Clothes* bears a striking resemblance to Benito Mussolini—and purposefully so, as the casting notes in the production bulletin state that "A Caesar bearing a physical resemblance to one of the contemporary dictators adds greatly to the effect."


JULIUS CAESAR ACT II Scene 1-2-3 Tent and Battle Scene.
Backdrop and Border
Floodlight
Wood wings
Dotted Lines preceding the floor plan of tent above — rear view of tent for right
Regular set Door entrance
Tape breaking
Frame
Side wall of tent
Floor Plan
Scale given 3/4" to 1 inch
Front view

THE DELAWARE PRODUCTION OF *JULIUS CAESAR IN MODERN CLOTHES* WAS PLANNED FOR A SMALL STAGE WITH NO FLIES AND A MINIMUM of room backstage. This design shows the basic set for part two, which includes scenes in Brutus's tent and on the plain near Philippi.

THE HILLBILLY McCOY FAMILY, AS SEEN IN A DESIGNER'S SKETCH AND AS PORTRAYED ON STAGE IN THE 1938 OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, production of *It's in the Air*, a travesty on radio amateur hours comprising numerous vaudeville acts.

the royalty fee, which was usually twenty-five or fifty dollars per week. Sometimes, however, the fee was as high as seventy dollars a week. Of course, if the play was in the public domain, there was no fee at all, as noted in the following disclaimer:

ROYALTY
As Shakespeare's plays are all in the public domain, there was no Royalty for the Detroit Federal Thea-

tre's presentation of "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

In the production bulletin for the Los Angeles production of *Ready, Aim, Fire!*, a satirical farce on the subject of "War, dictators, etc.," there is simply a succinct

ROYALTY
Public Domain

MUSIC DIRECTOR RICHARD ROSE PREPARED THIS ARRANGEMENT OF **John B. Singenberger's *Sanctus* for a 1938 Children's Federal Theatre production of *The Advent and Nativity of Christ* in Gary, Indiana. Music for Federal Theatre productions ranged from original material through adaptations of contemporary popular tunes to classical composition—all arranged to suit the capacities of the local FTP orchestra.**

A WARRIOR FROM THE LOS ANGELES PRODUCTION OF *THE WARRIOR'S Husband* **takes time out for a photo session before heading off to battle. A comedy set in the time of ancient Greece, in the land of the Amazons, this 1936 FTP production featured Ann Pendleton, pictured here, as Antiope.**

Allowing room in the budget for payment of royalties gave the FTP a greater choice of producible plays. George Bernard Shaw and Eugene O'Neill, for example, released their plays, cycles of nine and fourteen respectively, for a fifty-dollar weekly rate. The fact that these and other contemporary works were in the FTP repertory increased the project's prestige and appeal.

Directors, of course, are pivotal figures in the production of any play, whether in the public domain or under royalty. And in the production bulletins, the director's reports can provide both facts about a production and the director's opinion of it.

Julius Caesar in Modern Clothes was produced by the Delaware Federal Theatre. And in the production bulletin the director had quite a bit to say about staging Shakespeare in a modern vein for modern audiences:

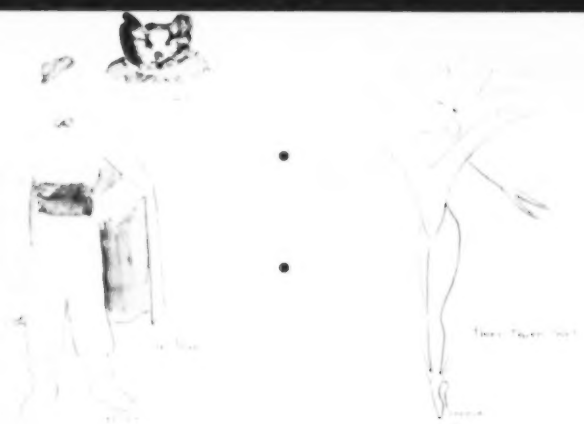
> The "grand manner" must be forgotten. This is a drama of the present. Shakespeare's verse can be spoken quite colloquially. (Many phrases will sound absolutely modern, such as Brutus' "I pause for a reply" in the middle of his oration.) This does not mean that the nobility and grandeur of the men and motives involved need be lost sight of. There are plenty of people today willing to fight and die for great causes.
>
> Judicious cutting (without rewriting) will leave out lines or short scenes that delay the direct flow of action, are too florid, or too pointedly refer to antique costume and custom. While shooting would be more [sic] modern for the several death scenes, the frequent reference to daggers and knife wounds would seem to prohibit it. The assassination and the suicides are accomplished with the "dagger of honor" which is widely worn among modern fascists.
>
> The audience is brought into the action by having the orators address it directly from the stage, by having several of the processions pass through the aisles, and by planting members of the mob in the front of the orchestra. Steps lead up to the stage, and up these the crowd surges to greet Caesar with upraised arm, to lynch Brutus, etc. The soothsayer and Artemidorus are seated on the aisle, and accost Caesar as he passes. Crowd responses during the orations come from the audience. Use the Roman salute.

One critic writing in the *Wilmington Morning News* (February 11, 1937) wrote:

> as far as is known, this presentation of "Julius Caesar" is the first of its kind since the days of Shakespeare, when all plays, historic or not, were costumed in the ordinary garb of the times. The national officers of the Federal Theater [sic] have expressed keen interest in the undertaking and plan to present the modern clothes version of the play in other cities

THE CLEVELAND Federal Theatre for youth's traveling production of *The Emperor's New Clothes* was advertised by posters featuring this dramatic design. The play opened in May 1937 and was performed at schools and playgrounds in and around the city to a total audience of well over fifty-five thousand.

DON JUAN (IN CAPE) IS SURROUNDED BY FEMALE ghosts and confronted by the very Devil in this scene from the 1936 Los Angeles production of *The Last Night of Don Juan*. Right, are costume designs for the puppets in another scene from the 1936 Los Angeles production



COSTUME DESIGNS FOR THE TAMPA, FLORIDA, CHILDREN'S MATINEE **production of *Beauty and the Beast* illustrate the romantic nature of this well-known fairy tale.**

throughout the nation. The idea is original with Robert C. Schmitzer, Delaware supervisor of WPA theater activities.

Not all FTP productions broke new ground in this way, of course, but each did present its director with creative challenges that they often discussed in their reports. The director of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in Detroit reports that: "at first I noted that some of the actors seemed a little hesitant in the reading of Shakespeare, but as rehearsals progressed and they became accustomed to the style of writing they soon treated it with a more modern interpretation."

In Los Angeles, staging *The Last Night of Don Juan* moved its director to write:

> This is one of the most difficult plays the local project has tackled, both from the standpoint of production and casting.
>
> The production of this play is not recommended unless there are available two of the finest actors in the world for the roles of Don Juan and the Devil. It is one of the most beautiful plays ever written but only great actors can approach the subtleties of the dialogue. It is, however, a thrillingly interesting production for any director to attempt; but he should demand at least two months for rehearsal. And one of these months should be spent on the complete set if the dynamic movement of the background figures is to approach the proper expression of the author's intention.

African Vineyard, produced in New Orleans, is described in its production bulletin as a passionate plea for tolerance and understanding of two peoples of different nationalities who have to live and work together in South Africa between 1913 and 1937. In his report, the author, Walter Armitage, who also acted in and directed the production, wrote:

> The one thing I feared about the play's production in America was that the problem was too remote, i.e., the difficulties of two races in another country to adjust themselves to each other, but this was disproved and my theory that conflict in the theatre is always good wherever the play's action might be laid, was borne out.

In staging Stefan Zweig's version of Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, the director in Los Angeles was convinced that the charm of the play lay mainly in its sixteenth century flavor.

> Nevertheless, I did not try to be too orthodox and did not attempt to hold myself strictly to the period of the Italian High Renaissance. On the contrary, I transposed the play into the baroque, that luscious style lending itself particularly well to the purpose of the play. In addition I tried (and I think succeeded fairly well) to have my actors act as expressionistically as possible, this not only as far as their general characterizations were concerned, but also in respect to their movements—in this way again emphazing [sic] the unreality and symbolism. By this procedure I made it more than obvious to the audience that what was going on on the stage had no direct relationship to reality.
>
> I not only think that the play's bawdiness or naughtiness is part of its charm, but must necessarily be brought out in the production simply because of the plot to which it belongs. I still think, despite the forced closing of the play, that no honest person could possibly have been offended. My opinion concerning this has been borne out by the reaction of audiences who for five consecutive weeks applauded the socially significant lines no less than the double entendre of certain jokes.

Applause notwithstanding, *this* creative challenge was obviously not viewed with wholehearted approval in all circles.

Music used in the Federal Theatre Project ranged from original scores to published music from the FTP music library. The reasoning behind musical choices, as revealed in the production bulletins, often makes quite an interesting story.

Harry Reynolds, music director for the Detroit production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, wrote in his report that:

> After using the overture to the opera, "The Merry Wives of Windsor", part of the overture to "Stradella", and other operatic excerpts as incidental music between the six or seven scenes of each set, we found that the operatic music made a travesty of some scenes, and detracted from the idea that it was to be a purely dramatic version.

NORA BAYES AND THE HARVEST MOON GIRLS TAKE THE STAGE during a 1938 Los Angeles production of *Two a Day*, a history of vaudeville presented as vaudeville. This production won plaudits from reviewers for, among other things, the number of real, old-time vaudeville players included in its cast.

■

> The tune "Green Sleeves [sic]", mentioned in the play, with others from an old Lute Book dated back to 1840, were obtained from the National Service Bureau, and these, together with the melody written by Verner Haldene, entitled "Fie on Simple Fantasy", gave me the idea that the music for this production was more effective if kept in one period.
>
> After harmonizing and arranging Verner Haldene's melody for the dances, I proceeded to compose "Six Old English Dances" for use between the scenes, with the characters of the play in mind, and composed a short overture, "Processional March", for the entrance of Queen Elizabeth in the Prologue. The bugle calls by the two Couriers had to be played in harmony on two saxaphones, [sic] not so realistic but, having a small five-piece band with no trumpet, it was the best we could do.

The music director for the Des Moines production of *Help Yourself* reported:

> The play being a farce comedy, therefore requiring a light musical setting, I chose the every day type of popular music. The audience responded generously with applause after each number.

The "every day type of popular music" he chose is also listed in the bulletin: *Shuffle Along, Too Marvelous for Words, The Aeroplane Rag, I Can't Lose That Longing for You, Play Ball,* and *Swing High, Swing Low.*

The production bulletin for the "voodoo" *Macbeth* presented by the New York City Negro Unit of FTP is filled with facts that testify to the historic and daringly creative nature of this production. In this instance, the setting is changed to Haiti and the musical score, arranged by Virgil Thomson, is filled with voodoo drums:

> OVERTURE.....YAMEKRAW.....James P. Johnson ("YAMEKRAW" is a genuine Negro treatise on spiritual, syncopated, and blues melodies expressing the religious fervor and happy moods of the natives of Yamekraw, a Negro settlement situated on the outskirts of Savannah, Georgia. It is believed to be the first Negro rhapsody.)
> INTERMEZZO....ADAGIO AFRAMERIQUE ....PORTER GRAINGER
> INTERMEZZO.....RIVER....ARRANGED BY JOE JORDAN

The Peoria, Illinois, production of *Help Yourself* included a note that:

> Inasmuch as this was Christmas week,—the Overture was arranged by the Conductor, Mr. True Fristoe,—to suit the occasion and season, rather than the play, as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was playing the following week, with the colored orchestra.
>
> This is also true of the "To a Wild Rose" number.

IN THE 1939 FTP PRODUCTION OF *VOLPONE*—"A Loveless Comedy in Two Acts, By Ben Jonson, Freely adapted by Stefan Zweig"—the merchant Corvino was dressed in these spectacular togs by designers Frederick Stover and Duane Faralla.

The Music Project had requested a McDowell Number be used on all music programs for that week, hence this number was used.

Sometimes rather than a composer's report, and sometimes in addition to it, there is a list of suggested music in the production bulletins. The bulletin for *Spirochete* in Portland, Oregon, suggested the music be:

Intermission.....'From Foreign Parts".....Moszkowski

Or there may be notes that hint at artistic dissatisfaction. In a bulletin from Cleveland, Ohio, for example:

There is a musical score for "The Emperor's New Clothes" which can be obtained from the agent. We do not use this arrangement.

Sir Frog Goes A-Travelling, also produced in Cleveland, was derived from fairy tales from all countries, yet its musical score consisted of "original Japanese themes":

The speaker is introduced by the music "It is Spring".

The theme for Sir Frog is from "Madam Butterfly".

The theme for "Lotus Pool of Old Japan", chanted by monks is taken from the original Japanese song "The Rabbit and the Turtle", and the music for "Round Round Round" is an original Buddhist chant.

At the end of the first act the Japanese "Cradle Song" is sung. Music for the dance is from the original Japanese piece called "Waiting".

Blind Alley—described in the synopsis as "a psychological drama of metaphysics: the superiority of oral hypnosis over brute strength"—was produced in two Los Angeles locations. A page from the production bulletin gives evidence of a music director's license:

—Hollywood Playhouse—

VARIATIONS IN BLUE (Based on the principal theme of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue")	MAGGIO
AMERICAN BOLERO	BROWN
NOCTURNE	GRISELLE
OCTOBER TWILIGHT	HADLEY

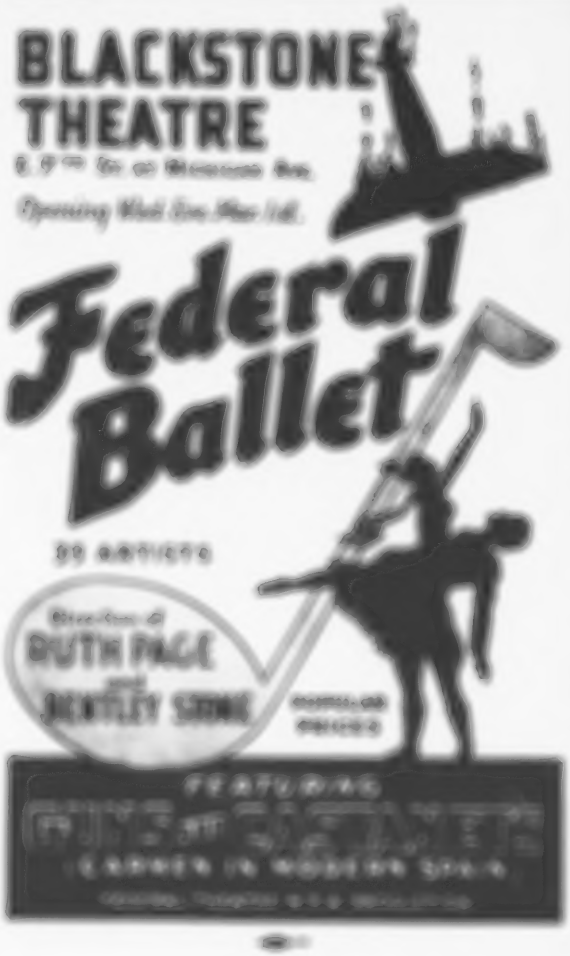
Mayan

STREET SCENE	NEWMAN
AMERICAN BOLERO	BROWN
NOCTURNE	GRISELLE

THE RICH AND GREEDY VOLPONE, CUNNING AS A fox, conspires with his toady Mosca to relieve the other characters in the play of their gold. Actors Edwin Miller and Barney Brown starred in this 1939 Los Angeles production.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE UNUSUAL PLOT OF THE MYSTERY OF THE BEWILDERED VILLAIN THESE sketches show how three victims of the ruthless psychiatrist Dr. Julius were costumed to suit the changes in their personalities after they fell under his hypnotic power. Written by Cecil B. Reynolds, Mystery was staged by the Miami Federal Players in 1938.

and choreographer Ruth Page, for Love Song, one of the ballets presented by the Federal Ballet in 1935 under the auspices of the Federal Theatre Project.



BALLET FOR ALL WITH FEDERALISM, as demonstrated by this poster for a March 1935 Federal Ballet program that included Guns and Castanets, a version of Carmen set during the Spanish Civil War.

information included in production bulletins is sometimes quite detailed, like this sheet of light cues from the New York staging of *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*.

JOSEPH COTTEN PLAYED THE SECOND SCHOLAR IN ORSON WELLES' 1937 production of *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus*. Because the part was so small, Cotten adopted the stage name Joseph Wood for this production. He is seen here (at right) on stage with William Mitch (First Scholar) and Huntly Weston (Third Scholar).

ACTORS PROVIDED THEIR OWN COSTUMES FOR A 1937 CONNECTICUT *production of Jericho.* **In this scene, the seductive Delilah, who has convinced Jericho to make their fortune by becoming a prizefighter, visits him in his dressing room before the big fight.**

In contrast, the bulletin for *Rules of Thailand* in Connecticut shows:

COST OF PRODUCTION - from Accountant's Report

Royalty	$0.00
Material Charges	$75.00
Costumes	$52.00
Tickets and Programs	$177.00

The bulletin for an Atlanta production of George Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* on a double bill with *The Man of Destiny*, contains a descriptive costume designer's report. Caesar's robe seems very regal, in effect:

> Caesar's robe was of purple twill cloth dyed and stenciled with gold paint in a deep border design. His cloak was a semi-circular piece of black velvet lined with gold taffeta and clasped together with rosettes of gold and precious stones gathered from the kits and left-over stones. A laurel crown of gold material, cut paper and golden tassels completed his royal robes.

Now that the cloth was dyed and stenciled, the cloak was flamed and adorned with cheap jewelry, and the crown was metallic paper. Some other materials used in this production were beaten-out shields and lance, and paper mache helmets. Lower characters were tunic and burlap. Costumes for *The Man of Destiny*, set in Italy in 1796, however, were reported to satin and brocade.

Press notices included in the production bulletins are a revelation of 1930s Americana. An editorial in the *Miami Herald*, for example, called *Androcles and the Lion* a play dealing with "capitalism, liberalism and communism," a "unique experiment in dramatics and propaganda" and commented that "Uncle Sam in the theatre business . . . is a healthy step in the encouragement of American thought and drama and acting." However, an editorial also questions the "right of the government to use taxes to promote radicalism."

Regarding the same play, the *Miami Daily News* reviewer thought that "So long as any member of the WPA group consider themselves on relief – they will show that attitude in their performances." *Time* magazine, however, notes that the mob in the fifteenth and climactic scene was so carried away by the action of violently taking sides, that they began really swearing at each other. When the curtain came down three lion actors were stretched out on the stage.

A New York City production of *Dr Faustus* starring Orson Welles was reviewed by a most prestigious assemblage of critics, and their reactions were extremely favorable. (Caps were probably added by the production bulletin's typist.)

> ONE OF THE REALLY GOOD SHOWS OF THE SEASON.
> The superb beauty of the lines is seldom lost and there is enough liveliness in the staging to make for a rewarding evening in the theatre. MR. WELLES IS A STRIKING AND ELOQUENT [sic] FIGURE IN THE TITLE ROLE. GIVING I THINK, THE BEST PORTRAYAL OF HIS NEW YORK CAREER. A true and simple translation of the Elizabethan stage into contemporary theatrical terms. IT IS BEAUTIFUL TO LISTEN TO AND FUN TO WATCH.
>
> Richard Watts, Jr. - Herald Tribune
>
> ABRILLIANTIVersion [ORIGINAL PRODUCTION]. Gives a long step toward revolutionizing the staging of Elizabethan plays. A DIE FAUSTUS THAT IS PHYSICALLY AND IMAGINATIVELY ALIVE. NUMBER ACTIVE - HEADS THEATRE STUFF.
>
> Brooks Atkinson - N.Y. Times
>
> THE PLAY IS PRODUCED WITH ARRESTING ORIGINALITY. The Federal Theatre did it very proudly and packed a stage host FULL OF IDEA MATTER, TABLEAUS AND FINE ROMANCE . . . AND THE AUDIENCE BETTER EXCITEMENTS.
> in burning darkness, crossed by smoky beams of stage spotlights and with fine effectiveness and with Mephistopheles appearing frighteningly out of fire and power rolling back into the recesses of dark curtains.
>
> Richard Lockridge - The Sun
>
> DR. FAUSTUS A FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT THAT OPENED LAST NIGHT AT THE MAXINE ELLIOTT'S [sic] THEATRE. The old Marlowe chiller trimmed for modern times, one would be surprised what a good show it makes. It seems like one of the best general entertainments in town.
>
> Robert Benchley - New Yorker

Other familiar names associated with this production are puppeteer Bil Baird (or Bil as he was known later), John Houseman, Managing Producer, and actor Joseph Cotten.

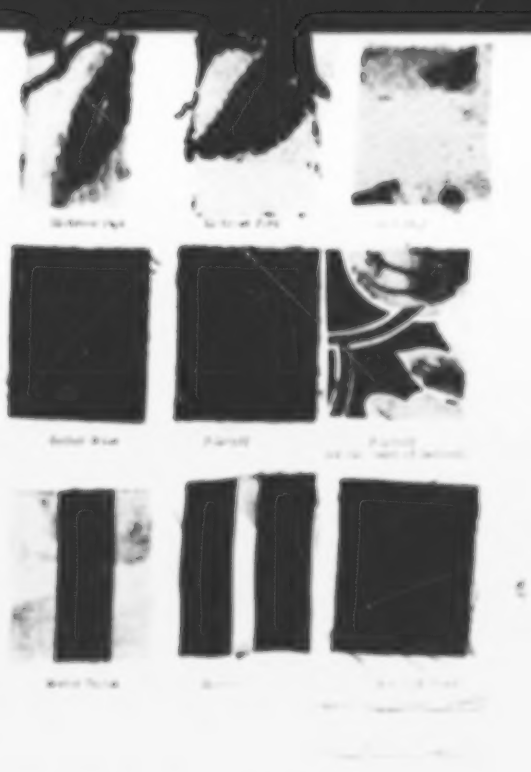
FTP productions did not always, of course, receive rave reviews. *Tiffany*, for example, garnered a range of reviews and comments. The Los Angeles *Herald and Express* said that "most of the salt of the Elizabethan script

WPA FEDERAL THEATRE
AVERY
MEMORIAL
A MODERN NEGRO DRAMA
by H. L. Fishel
"JERICHO"
Thurs. Fri. & Sat., NOV. 18, 19 & 20
Curtain at 8:30
Tickets at GALLUP & ALFRED'S, 201 ASYLUM ST.
prices: 25¢ 55¢ and 83¢ TAX INCL.

A WINDOW CARD designed by the WPA poster project advertises the East Hartford, Connecticut, FTP production of *Jericho*, a modernized tale of Samson and Delilah.

PAUL EHRLICH (HARRY MILES) AND JAPANESE scientist S. Hata (Al Adams) discover the 606 compound salvarsan that gives the world a cure for syphilis in this imaginatively staged scene from the Portland, Oregon, Living Newspaper production, Spirochete

HAVING JUST MURDERED HIS OWN GIRLFRIEND, WILSON, A RUTHLESS KILLER, THREATENS HIS **hostage, Professor Shelby, in the psychological drama *Blind Alley*. A 1937 FTP production that played in two Los Angeles theaters, *Blind Alley* starred Gordon Wickland as the professor, Anthony Ward as Wilson, and Margot Duse as the unfortunate girlfriend, Mazie.**



PRODUCTION BULLETINS SOMETIMES INCLUDE ITEMS THAT **give their readers a real feel for the play in question—like these samples of material from the Detroit production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.**

had been lost . . . but a notch more in daring . . . could very well expose itself to the novelty of having the show panned by the cops."

The *Evening News* reviewer wrote:

> The 16th century farce does not compare with the theatre project's two current hits, Run, Little Chillun and Turn Da'y, either in production or entertainment values. Its strong point, rather, is that it is the most amazing example of illegitimate drama ever to grace or disgrace the boards of a Los Angeles theatre.

A reviewer for the Tacoma *News Tribune* observed that *The Cradle Will Rock* is "said to be based on the actual family life of a Hollywood man. If that's true, it is no wonder so many people down there spend their time divorcing."

From the *San Diego Union*: "*Ladies in Retire*, Turner Bullock's three-act comedy which opened last night at the Savoy, is a repertoire of what has become an old story with the Federal Theatre Players—an interesting play splendidly presented."

And in a review of the Hartford, Connecticut, FTP troupe itself, a writer for the *Courant* plotted its chances in that city:

> Hayseed in poverty, grayed by internal dissension, driven from the pillar [sic] of one house to the post of another, alternating the parts of Shakespearian glory with the prance of shake that dead plays these WPA players have plugged doggedly along, and what ever one may feel about the project as a whole, val[illegible] has been the word for its troupers here.

As revealing—or more—are the audience reactions which were written on cards after performances and sometimes incorporated into the production bulletins. One member of the *Last Night of Don Juan* audience in Los Angeles thought "this play is written for a select audience. It never has appealed, it never will appeal to the majority of theatre goers; it is too subtle, too poetic. But that is no criticism of either the play or the Federal Theatre Project's beautiful production of it."

The Women's Husband is a play that "begins," according to a production bulletin synopsis, "in Hippolyta's pretty palace in the land of the Amazons, where men are on the distaff side, and where the soldering women merely console themselves with men after the excitement of battle. Upon seeing a Los Angeles production of this play, a mining engineer from Idaho wrote:

> This is the best of the Federal shows that I have seen since I returned to civilization and I am surprised to find how well it is done. I don't know who any of these people are, but they are excellent actors every one. The play is very amusing although I find it rather strong here, but that may be due to my years in the woods.

In Los Angeles, a member of the audience of *Run, Little Chillun*, described as a Negro spiritual, wrote: "First play I have ever seen which pictures the Negro

SINCLAIR LEWIS (THIRD FROM LEFT) IMPARTS HIS BLESSING TO A CONNECTICUT production of his play *It Can't Happen Here*. This photo, which appeared in *The Hartford Daily Courant* of December 1, 1936, shows Lewis next to Connecticut Governor Cook, with state FTP supervisor Gertrude DanDero at left and Ann G. Ayres, director of the Hartford Federal Theatre group, at right.

life. It is a relief to see them out of vaudeville and actually presented in a living drama."

Sometimes audience reaction is noted generally in the bulletins, such as the comment that there was "Pleasantly spontaneous applause at final curtain" for the Hartford production of *The Cortaro Rites*.

For *Help Yourself* in Des Moines:

AUDIENCE REACTION
—very favorable—

And of *Spirochete* in Portland, Oregon:

> Though a good many in our audiences thought "SPIROCHETE" a brave and exciting piece, the reaction of other writers of our audiences was very disappointing. Expressed or perceptible were two distinct reactions to the subject matter: (1) many found the subject matter revolting, believed too chemical a matter for theatrical treatment and (2) some who came [sic] seeking sensationalism of a "sex" motion picture were disappointed in not finding it.
>
> General reaction: A fairly interesting script of good intention, well staged and adequately acted.

Audience reaction to *Volpone* in Los Angeles was as varied as the printed reviews for that play. One theatergoer thought "it was a highly moral play. Modern victims of the perennial follies caricatured by Ben Jonson are made to approach a state of awareness by seeing this." Someone else objected to the vulgarity, commenting that "the same dramatic effect could have been projected with better success if subtlety and innuendo had been employed instead of vulgarity. Too bad, for much beauty and art and a real moral were there."

Programs or playbills are usually included in the production bulletins, sometimes pasted in so that the last page is lost forever to posterity, and in others they are often falling out of the volumes as the glue loosens with the passing of time. (There is, fortunately, a separate playbill collection.)

Other supplementary data that may be included in the bulletins includes information about casting and choreographs, unsolicited letters, and complete cast lists—which could be very long. One bulletin, for instance, noted that:

> "Flight" was played by a cast of 51 at the Seattle Theatre Project. As there are 138 speaking parts in the play, to say nothing of the numerous mob scenes, this meant a good deal of doubling.
>
> On our small stage mob scenes of 20 were adequate.

The cast of *Help Yourself* in Peoria, wrote the director, was "large,—being 18 in number,—13 male and 5 female,—with as many typists, clients, etc. as can be used."

It's in the Air in Oakland, a travesty on radio amateur hours made up of various vaudeville acts woven into a production, had 22 characters: seventeen male, five female—all on stage at the same time.

Haiti in New York City had a cast list of twenty-seven *plus* "Haitian soldiers and Haitian citizens."

In addition to cast lists, supplemental information on rare occasions includes a choreographic report. In the production bulletin for the Detroit production of

RICHARD GLYER, DIRECTOR OF THE SEATTLE **production of *Spirochete*, gives a literal twist to the phrase "the *art* of the director" with this colorful sketch of one scene in this FTP Living Newspaper presentation.**

The Merry Wives of Windsor for instance. Garnet Ross describes a supernatural scene:

> The masks made for Act II, scene 6, are used to disguise certain of the characters who as fairies, hob-goblins, elves, and sprites create superstitious fear in Falstaff. They change to colorful costumes and to the masks producing weird figures, dancing, singing, and giving out eerie shrieking sounds to the rhythm of fantastic music.
>
> The lights at the beginning of the scene give the effect of blue night, gradually growing brighter as the tempo of the music swells to a frantic climax.

He also includes detailed instructions on

THE MAKING OF THE MASKS

1st – A clay model to portray the cast of features to be used for one definite character.

2nd – Plaster casting – a mixture of plaster paris [sic] and water applied to the outside of the clay model, allowing to set for about fifteen minutes, remove mask, clay and leave plaster cast to dry thoroughly over night. Grease inside of mold with vaseline when dry.

3rd – Papier mache [sic] – a red rosin or any heavy unglazed paper. Tear into confetti strips and let soak in water till paper is wet through. Apply three or more layers to inside of mold with a thick cold water paste, working in each layer firmly to attain as well formed a mask as the original model. When dry remove from mold, cut openings for eyes, nose, and mouth. Paint and shellac.

To be successful a mask should be made to fit the wearer by padding it with cotton and a thin cloth.

A SCENE FROM ACT II OF LEWIS'S play shows the actors in costumes created by the Bridgeport, Connecticut, FTP's costume department. Many FTP units did not have special divisions for this purpose, solving their costuming problems in ways ranging from asking actors to wear their own clothes to renting from local establishments.

A LITTLE SOMETHING FOR **Halloween: the production bulletin for the Detroit FTP's staging of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* includes instructions for making fairy masks like this one. The production still [right] shows masked characters on stage in act II of the play.**

Production bulletins may also include ground plans for sets in a variety of media – black and white pen and pencil sketches, water colors, crayon, actual blueprints – and in many sizes. Some of the color illustrations in the bulletins are works of art in themselves.

Attendance figures provided in some bulletins give us a glimpse of the FTP's popular appeal.

The Hollywood Playhouse production of *Two-A-Day*, for example, played to a total audience of 101,913 at 144 performances in a run lasting from late October to the middle of May. *The Emperor's New Clothes* played in Cleveland to sixty-eight schools and playgrounds, with a total attendance of 56,421. The bulletin for *Beauty and the Beast* in Charlotte, North Carolina,

A PORTION OF THE AUDIENCE FOR THE *FLOTILLA OF FAITH*, A PAGEANT **celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Fort Vancouver, Washington, produced by the Federal Theatre Project on May 10, 1939. The production itself featured a cast of 450.**

records:

> First performance held September 19th at the Charlotte Little Theatre, capacity 400; audience, 300; no admission.
>
> Second performance held September 26th at the Charlotte Public Library Auditorium, capacity, 100, audience, 80; no admission.
>
> Third performance held October 1st at the Thompson Orphanage Auditorium, capacity, 300; audience, 310; no admission.

Opening an FTP production was a good reason to have a parade. The production bulletins mention them and sometimes include photographs.

In Vancouver, Washington, on May 10, 1939, the FTP produced the *Flotilla of Faith*, a pageant celebrating the founding of Fort Vancouver 100 years before. Staged on one bank of the Columbia River before an audience of 15,000, the production featured a cast of 450; 45 actors from the Seattle Federal Theatre Project, supported by some 400 men, women, and children of Vancouver. Below is an excerpt from the director's report:

> REHEARSALS
>
> Rehearsals were held in Seattle first, the Federal Theatre actors being carefully drilled to lead the action, songs and dances. Then the director, Miss Jan Norman, went to Vancouver 12 days before the performance and held rehearsals there. Rehearsals continued in Seattle, directed by Toby Leitch under supervision of Edwin G. O'Connor.
>
> Rehearsals were held in Vancouver twice daily (3:6 P.M. and 8:11 P.M.) for those who could come. It was almost impossible to get local talent together for the rehearsals. As there was no public address system to direct in the open, rehearsals were held in a hall that would have been too small for a full company rehearsal if they had all come, and was much too small to drill them in the action. In between times, the director tended to the production end.
>
> Ten captains were chosen to lead the various groups and assist in directing them. A "spastron" man was appointed to lead the captains. The Overseer was chosen for this part, so that his directions would appear natural.
>
> The Federal Theatre actors drove down the day before the performance, so that there could be one dress rehearsal on the ground with the Vancouver people. Some appeared for the performance who had not rehearsed at all. They followed the leaders and formed a background for the action.
>
> Preparations for a national high school band contest coming the next week end made it impossible to get the high school bands together for a rehearsal on the field. Only a few soldiers were available because the personal [sic] at Vancouver Barracks had been send [sic] to Fort Lewis.

Flotilla of Faith started with not one, but two parades:

> A parade through the streets of Vancouver, starting at 3:15 P.M., preceded the pageant, with the bands and high church and state officials participating.
>
> The Governor of Oregon led a parade of cars across the bridge from Portland with a State Patrol escort.

These parades and others inspired by the FTP were but a small expression of that project's importance to the America of the 1930s. In that dark time, the Federal Theatre Project opened the world of "color and Music and movement of real players on a real stage" to a population struggling hard to scrape through. It provided employment to theater artists and technicians. It encouraged creativity, appreciation for drama, and a sense of fun. Much of the record of its amazing achievements during its short but vital existence rests in the over 750 production bulletins in the Library of Congress Federal Theatre Project Collection.

BETH R. KRAUS, Librarian/Archivist in Special Collections and Archives, Fenwick Library, George Mason University, holds a Master's Degree in Library Science from Indiana University and an M.A. in Management from Central Michigan University. Her column "Out of Women's America" appears in the British journal *Spare Rib*, *Feminist Bookstore News*, and she has also published articles in *LRR*, the *Wilson Library Bulletin*, and the Canadian journal *RFR/DRF*.

THE LEGACY OF ELIZABETH SPRAGUE COOLIDGE

A GIFT OF LOVE THROUGH MUSIC

BY ELISE K. KIRK

THE MUSICAL LIFE OF AMERICA IS A PRISM that reflects many hues. Anyone walking along the popular mall in Washington, D.C., the morning of July 4th is caught up in a rich variety of musical voices—a Gospel choir on the lawn, calliope music near the Smithsonian "castle," a marching band rehearsing for the afternoon parade, traditional dancers from India by the reflecting pool, and, in a quiet little corner under a massive shade tree, a string quartet performing Haydn to a small, but totally enraptured, audience.

There is something about the intimacy of chamber music—a term commonly applied to small instrumental ensembles—that has a special appeal. Although chamber music sometimes lacks the chiaroscuro of a large symphony orchestra, it can have its own unique color, fire, and drama. Especially during the twentieth century, its transparent textures and economy of means have made it a popular genre among composers. And more than any other musical medium, chamber music requires a special teamwork, a spirit of camaraderie among the musicians, who must toss and catch the themes as deftly as ball players on a field.

The gradual rise in popularity of chamber music in the United States as the twentieth century progressed was due in part to the attention and dedication of one of the greatest patrons in the history of music—Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. Coolidge's outstanding generosity, powerful love of music, innate musicianship, and astute managerial skills led to her commissioning many of the twentieth century's most important compositions. Without this "Lady Bountiful of Chamber Music," as she came to be called, the modern era would be decidedly thinner in creative output.

The philanthropy of Elizabeth Coolidge, moreover, transformed the Library of Congress into an international center of chamber music. When in 1925 she established the Coolidge Foundation and financed the construction of the Coolidge Auditorium in the Library, she brought to this simple hall an extraordinary array of distinguished chamber music premieres. And because of Mrs. Coolidge's vital contribution to American culture—and later that of another great benefactor, Gertrude Clarke Whittall—the Music Division of the Library of Congress continues to promote chamber music today, maintaining an ongoing program of concerts, festivals, and commissions of new works.

Elizabeth Penn Sprague was born on October 30, 1864, in a cultural capital that by the turn of the century would rival many eastern cities. "Chicago," as the Englishman Arnold Bennett said in 1912, "is openly anxious about its soul." While guarantors, such as Carnegie, J. P. Morgan, Vanderbilt, and Pulitzer were prominent in the East, Chicago had its own roster of civic leaders who reflected the city's flourishing commercial life: Marshall Field, Potter Palmer, George M. Pullman, Philip D. Armour, and Walter Newberry. In 1891 Theodore Thomas

[illegible]
Library of Congress collections

THE TEMPLE OF MUSIC, WHERE CHAMBER MUSIC FESTIVALS WERE HELD BEGINNING IN 1918. The hall was constructed by Elizabeth Coolidge on South Mountain in the Berkshire hills, near Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

ELIZABETH COOLIDGE WITH ETHEL AND FRANK BRIDGE, LONGTIME FRIENDS, at the 1926 Berkshire Festival in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Frank Bridge was a prominent English composer whom Coolidge supported during most of his professional life.

PRESIDENT HERBERT HOOVER AND HIS WIFE, LOU HENRY HOOVER. Elizabeth Coolidge visited the White House often during the Hoover administration and became a special friend of the First Lady, who was also a devotee of the arts.

Recipient, Bernard Stavenhagen, and a host of distinguished American composers—all forming the remarkable Berkshire festivals. The festivals usually comprised a number series of the concerts held regularly between 1909 and 1923 and then again in 1928, 1931, and 1938. Overall, all of the performances were made possible through gifts, prizes, competitions, and commissions established by Elizabeth Coolidge. Featured at her concerts were the world's finest artists, such as pianists Olga Gabrilowitsch, Harriet Bauer, and Alfredo Casella; violinist Georges Enesco; and the Flonzaley, London, Kneisel, Gordon, and Roth Quartets. At the first festival in 1918, Mrs. Coolidge herself performed. With

THE FRENCH COMPOSER DARIUS MILHAUD, WITH HIS WIFE MADELINE, SAID Milhaud's String Quartet No. 13 was composed as a birthday tribute to Mrs. Coolidge and given its world premiere at the Library of Congress in 1940.

WALTER WILSON COBBETT, whose efforts in the field of chamber music were important to the development of this genre in England. Elizabeth Coolidge received the Cobbett Medal for "Distinguished Services to Chamber Music" in 1925; she was the second recipient of the award.

THE YOUNG ENGLISH COMPOSER REBECCA CLARKE, WHOSE SCHERZO for Viola and Piano won second place in the Berkshire chamber music competition in 1919. First prize went to Ernest Bloch. Three years later, Clarke's Rhapsody for Cello and Piano, under a Coolidge commission, received its world premiere during the Berkshire Festival.

ELIZABETH SPRAGUE COOLIDGE'S HOME IN PITTSFIELD IN THE Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts.

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the Berkshire Quartet. She played the Piano Quintet, Opus 20, by the Austrian composer Ludwig Thuille.

Among the large collection of scrapbooks of all shapes and sizes in the Coolidge archives at the Library of Congress is a small black notebook. It records the manuscripts submitted during the 1921 and 1922 Berkshire chamber music competitions sponsored by Elizabeth Coolidge. Most (but) countries were represented within this period, including Holland, Italy, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, and the United States with cities ranging from New York to Kalamazoo.

The competition for the 1920 Berkshire prize called for an unpublished, unperformed string quartet and attracted 130 manuscripts, also from a wide variety of countries. The jury consisting then comprised Ernest Bloch, Felix Borowski, Leopold Stokowski, Emmanuel Wad, and Clyde Ale. Receiving four of the votes was the winning composition, Leos Janáček's Mládí's first string quartet, the second Bloch's concerto composed earlier that year.

But one of the most interesting competitions took place in 1919, during the second Berkshire Festival. Seventy-two compositions for viola and piano were entered and the judges were deadlocked between two pieces until Mrs. Coolidge broke the tie after a private hearing. The winning composition was the Suite for Viola and Piano by Ernest Bloch. To everyone's amazement, the second place went to the Sonata for Viola and Piano by an unknown young Englishwoman, Rebecca Clarke. Three years later, Clarke's Rhapsody for Cello and Piano, commissioned by Elizabeth Coolidge, received its world premiere, played by the English artists Mary Hess and Mac Mudd during the 1922 festival.

The Berkshire Festivals set the manner and tone for similar chamber music series to follow. Twenty years after the initial Berkshire concert, Harold Spivacke, Chief of the Music Division at the Library of Congress and a great devotee of chamber music himself, commented:

> It was with the first Berkshire Festival that Mrs. Coolidge began her epoch-making efforts in the cause of chamber music. Accordingly, there was no period of experimentation or groping for the proper form in these concerts, evidence of the skilled planning and successful direction which Mrs. Coolidge, aided by the faithful collaboration of Mr. Hugo Kortschak, has brought these festivals from the start.

In 1925 Mrs. Coolidge began to expand her chamber music series beyond Pittsfield to major cities and universities. The first program was held at the American Academy in Rome and over the years others followed in London, Amsterdam, Milan, Paris, Venice, Naples, Graz, Prague, Brussels, Rome, and Moscow. In 1927 the String Quartet No. 3 of Arnold Schoenberg, performed in Vienna by the Kolisch Quartet (Rudolph Kolisch, Felix Khuner, Eugen Lehner, and Benar Heifetz), was given its world premiere under a Coolidge commission. In this important composition, the great Austro-Hungarian master established the main stylistic characteristics of his serial music.

The composer Alfredo Casella, who often assisted Mrs. Coolidge with her overseas management, wrote colorfully about their travels and through his notes an image of the woman emerges:

> Mrs. Coolidge took most of the musicians with her on her travels. She invited friends, celebrities, and critics of all nations to attend her concerts, and not only they were her guests in the most luxurious

IGOR STRAVINSKY IN REHEARSAL, NEW YORK 1935, DURING HIS second American visit. Stravinsky's ballet, Apollo Musagetes, and his Sonata for Two Pianos received their world premieres in the Coolidge Auditorium. In 1935, with violinist Samuel Dushkin, Stravinsky himself performed a program of his own music at the Library of Congress.

hotels. We preferred to live surrounded by creative and performing artists and by close and affectionate friends. The arrival at the hotel of that full (she was almost six feet), spectacled lady, followed by a retinue of twenty or thirty persons, most of them armed with musical instruments, was impossible to miss. The hotel was then taken by assault by the cosmopolitan company, which was looked on with a certain misgiving by other travellers who were not a part of it.

She is a woman of really phenomenal physical constitution, although she herself was never tired, her guests were often completely exhausted. However, the feeling of admiration and gratitude created every time by this extraordinary woman was such that gatherings always ended in general and noisy gaiety.

The Coolidge overseas tours of 1931 began in Moscow, but "we hardly saw anything," the energetic patron recalled. "They took us like convicts to the concerts and back again." But the next stop, Budapest, was quite a different story with numerous dinners, teas, and receptions interposed among the musical programs. Like the Berkshire concerts, the programs overseas were generally open to the public and highly successful. "There was scarcely one seat left in the music academy's big hall on Friday evening," observed a Budapest newspaper about the opening chamber music festival concert on October 1st, 1931. Featured on this concert were Meliguzio's *Ritrovari* for eleven instruments with its "strange and fascinating juggling of tone colors," as one critic noted; the Concerto for String Quartet and Orchestra by the prolific Swiss composer, Conrad Beck; and the String Quartet No. 3 by the prominent Hungarian composer and folk-music scholar, Laszlo Lajtha.

A Coolidge prize-winning composition, the Lajtha was played for the first time by the Roth Quartet. The

MRS. COOLIDGE AT THE AMERICAN PREMIERE OF BENJAMIN BRITTEN'S opera *Peter Grimes* produced at Tanglewood during the Berkshire Festival in 1946. To the left is the composer. Elizabeth Coolidge, then aged eighty-two, is shown wearing the hearing aid she used during her later years.

following evening included music by the Czech composer Bohuslav Martinu, the Russian Serge Prokofiev, and the foremost German composer of his generation, Paul Hindemith. Hindemith's *Kammermusik* for piano, brass, and two harps, given its world premiere at a Coolidge festival in Chicago the previous year, impressed

ENTRANCE TO THE "SALA COOLIDGE," AN ADDITION TO THE HOME of Gian Francesco and Anna Malipiero in Asolo, Italy. The hall, a gift from Elizabeth Coolidge, was especially constructed for the performance of chamber music.

PIANIST RUDOLF SERKIN MADE HIS AMERICAN DEBUT WITH VIOLINIST ADOLF BUSCH IN THE Coolidge Auditorium in 1933. The photo is inscribed: To Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge in memory of our first sonata evening in America, in gratitude,

Rudolf Serkin
Adolf Busch
May 23, 1933

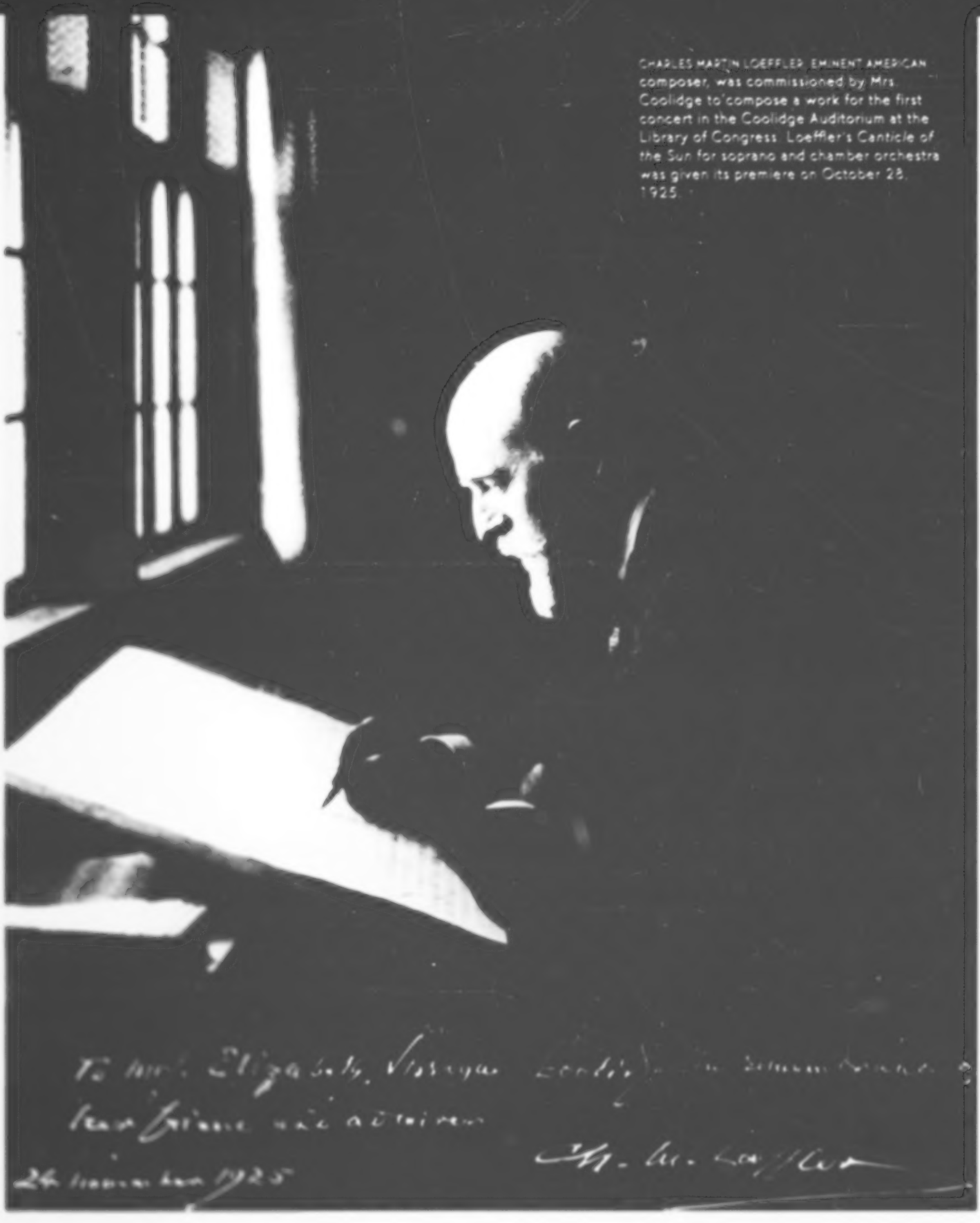
one reviewer "as if the celebrated composer would have his fun in some parts only to blurt the audience (quite le bourgeois)." But to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, Hindemith's universal maxim could well have been her own: "People who make music together cannot be enemies—at least not while the music lasts."

In addition to the European festivals, Coolidge-sponsored chamber music series were held in Honolulu, Mexico City, San Juan, and in American cities across the nation. The unique festival in Mexico in 1937 comprised works by composers from North, Central, and South America. Among the composers representing the United States were Walter Piston, Roy Harris, Roger Sessions, and Aaron Copland. Enthusiastically, Copland wrote to Elizabeth Coolidge on July 26 that the concerts gave the musical life of Mexico a less provincial aspect. "On the whole," he added "from my own standpoint (which is that of a musician who has closely followed the American and Mexican movement for the past fifteen years), the most important aspect of the Festival was the opportunity . . . (to view) the present status of our own music. I came away feeling strongly encouraged for its future. . . . Europe has little to teach us in the matter of expert craftsmanship."

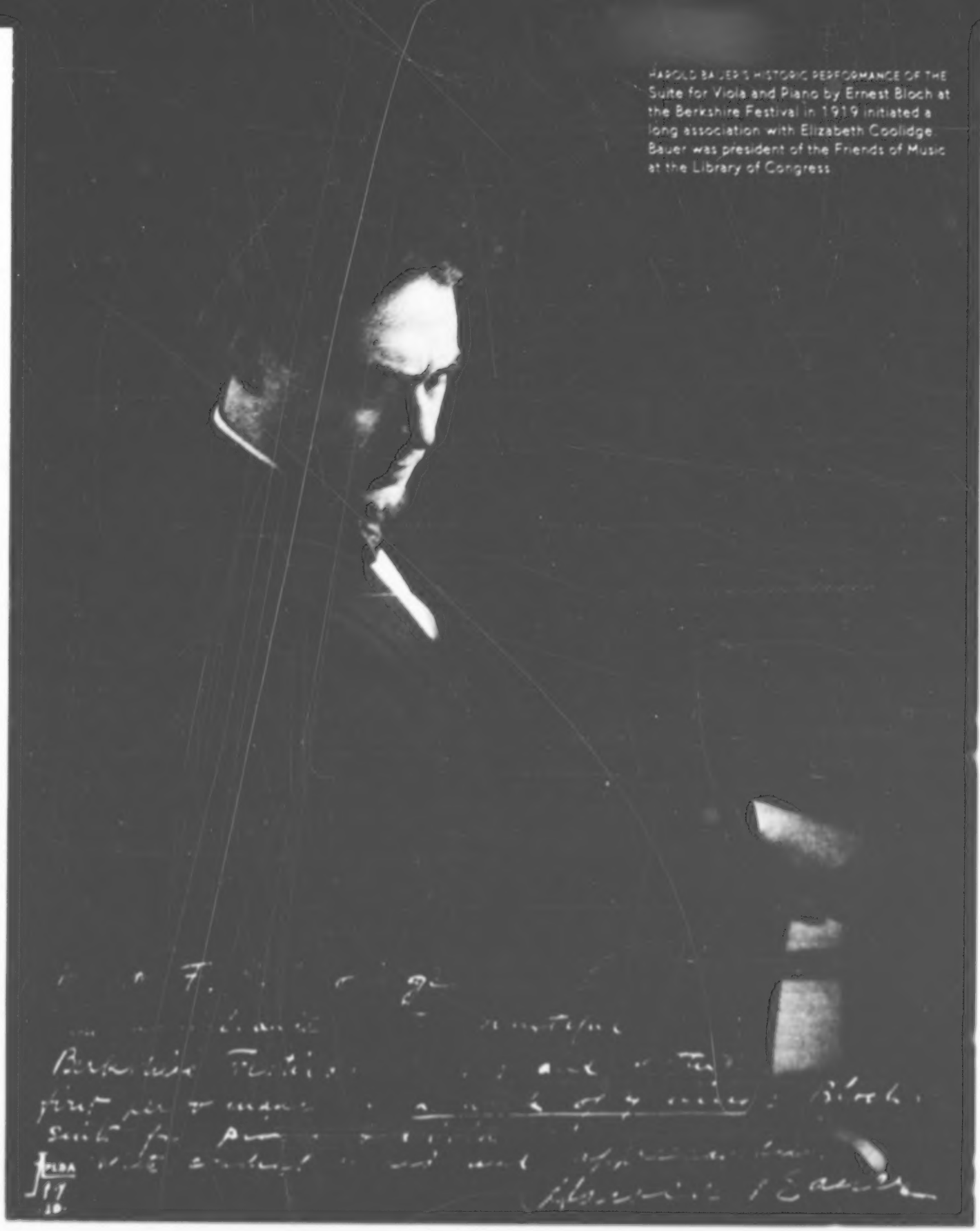
With flair and class, Elizabeth Coolidge spread her cause for chamber music to literally thousands and introduced important modern composers to audiences that might never have heard them otherwise. Her chamber music festival in Chicago's Field Museum from October 12 through 16, 1930, comprised twenty-four works; five were given their world premieres and six were heard for the first time in America—all performed by distinguished artists and ensembles.

But not only was modern music brought to life during the Coolidge concerts, but the masterpieces of earlier periods, as well. In 1935 the renowned Pro Arte Quartet performed the full cycle of Beethoven string quartets in five Belgian cities. On another occasion the six Brandenburg Concertos of J. S. Bach were played outdoors to an audience of 2,000 in Los Angeles, and for yet another festival, the entire output of chamber music by Johannes Brahms was performed as a series of eight concerts.

But to most people who know the name of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, an impressive visual memorial immediately comes to mind—the Coolidge Auditorium in the Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress. For in this hall individually scheduled concerts, Founder's Day programs held on the date of Mrs. Coolidge's birth, festivals devoted to American music, chamber music



CHARLES MARTIN LOEFFLER, EMINENT AMERICAN composer, was commissioned by Mrs. Coolidge to compose a work for the first concert in the Coolidge Auditorium at the Library of Congress. Loeffler's Canticle of the Sun for soprano and chamber orchestra was given its premiere on October 28, 1925.



HAROLD BAUER'S HISTORIC PERFORMANCE OF THE Suite for Viola and Piano by Ernest Bloch at the Berkshire Festival in 1919 initiated a long association with Elizabeth Coolidge. Bauer was president of the Friends of Music at the Library of Congress.

series, retrospectives, and other programs all underscore the legacy of Elizabeth Coolidge and keep her image vital within the nation's cultural life.

In a paper delivered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when she was eighty seven, Mrs. Coolidge recalls the genesis of her unique association with the government

PABLO CASALS AND HIS FIRST WIFE, AMERICAN singer Susan Metcalfe Casals, in 1922.

and ultimately the Library of Congress:

> I came to realize that the activities begun on South Mountain [Berkshire Festivals] ought to be perpetuated and that the best—perhaps the only—way to do that would be to memorialize and impersonalize them. . . . Dr. Putnam borrowed from the Smithsonian Institution a delightful little auditorium in the Freer Gallery, and there on Patriotic glances opened a series of three concerts which, later, led to the establishment of the Coolidge Foundation.

The series of three Freer Gallery concerts held between February 7 and 9, 1924, included the music of Haydn, Beethoven, Waldo Warner, and Henry Eichheim, whose "bewildering, modernist" *Oriental Impressions* contained passages of "grave, compelling grandeur woven into its jagged chords." The applause was a genuine tribute," added the critic. "The audience had 'caught on.'" Among the artists performing on this program were Harold Bauer, pianist, the French flute virtuoso, Georges Barrere, and the Elshuco Trio (William Kroll, Willem Willeke, and Amelia Gorno), its name derived from the first syllables of Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. That the concerts were well attended is attested by the remarks of the Librarian of Congress, Herbert Putnam, about the audience: "And it not merely exhausted the chairs, but was even packed into the corridors beyond."

In 1925, the following year, the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation at the Library of Congress was established, endowed by the patroness with the income

THE PRO ARTE QUARTET IN 1933. LEFT TO RIGHT: ALPHONSE ONNOU, LAURENT HALLEUX, ROBERT MAAS, AND GERMAIN PREVOST.

from two substantial trust funds that created the library an annual income of approximately $25,000. The gift was to be administered by the Library's prestigious Music Division, at that time under the supervision of Carl Engle. Another Coolidge gift included $60,000 (later increased to $94,000) for the construction of the auditorium, which was built in the courtyard of the Library on the ground floor near the original Music Division. Mrs. Coolidge also donated a three-manual Skinner organ to the auditorium.

While the auditorium was described as plain, undecorated, and classical in structure, it reflected Mrs. Coolidge's preferences for "severe and chaste beauty," rather than "ornate display" and her aims to present programs "not with a view for extravagance for its own sake," but to give precedence to "consideration of quality over those of quantity; to artistic rather than economic values; and to opportunity, rather than expediency." The hall's acoustics were highly praised. But most important, Elizabeth Coolidge had her wish: the Berkshire Festival had found a permanent home in the nation's capital. And America witnessed a unique melding of government, private philanthropy, and the arts. In the words of Samuel Chotzinoff of the *New York World*:

> Music slipped into the national capital tonight. It went safely past the Mint, ducked the Treasury Building, skirted several other hard-boiled monuments, governmental edifices and, aided only by the benignant glow around the dome of the Capitol, found what I believe will be a lasting refuge in the Library of Congress.

The five concerts that made up the premiere series in 1925 offered a rich and varied repertoire. For her opening concert on October 28, Mrs. Coolidge paid homage to her country by highlighting the works of three American composers: Charles Martin Loeffler's *Canticle of the Sun* for voice and chamber orchestra directed by Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Frederick Stock's *Rhapsody Fantasy* for chamber orchestra; and Frederick Jacobi's *Two American Pictures* for voice and chamber orchestra.

THE NOTED AMERICAN COMPOSER, WALLINGFORD RIEGGER, RECEIVED **the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Prize during the Berkshire Festival of 1924 for his setting of Keats's *La Belle Dame sans merci* for four solo voices and chamber orchestra.**

ERNEST BLOCH, SWISS-BORN AMERICAN COMPOSER, WHOSE SUITE for Viola and Piano won the Berkshire Prize in 1919.

The next morning an all Beethoven program was presented, while the evening concert focused on the music of English Renaissance and Baroque composers — still a relatively unique genre of music for most American audiences in the 1920s. The English Singers of London and harpsichordist Lewis Richards were the featured artists, and in the audience of luminaries from both government and the arts was another Coolidge (unrelated to the patroness) — Mrs. Calvin Coolidge, wife of the president of the United States. The final two programs on October 30 ranged from a *sonata da chiesa* by Antonio Caldara to the music of Schubert, Debussy, Pizzetti, and Howard Hanson. The Loeffler, Stock, Pizzetti, and Hanson works were Coolidge commissions.

The quality and variety of the Coolidge Foundation prizes, commissions, premieres and overall repertoire are extraordinary indeed. Details surrounding the more than sixty years of musical activities at the Library of Congress alone would fill a hefty monograph. But even selected highlights are impressive. The following are only a few of the important works commissioned by the Coolidge Foundation and given their world premieres at the Library of Congress:

Apollo Musagetes, ballet, Igor Stravinsky, 1928
String Quartet No. 1, Serge Prokofiev, 1931
String Quartet No. 5, Bela Bartok, 1935
String Quartet No. 10, Darius Milhaud, 1940
String Quartet No. 7, Quincy Porter, 1943
Viola Quintet, Roy Harris, 1943
Sonata for two pianos, Igor Stravinsky, 1944
Appalachian Spring, ballet, Aaron Copland, 1944
Herodiade, ballet, Paul Hindemith, 1944
Cinque Lavole, Gian Francesco Malipiero, 1950
String Quartet No. 4, William Schuman, 1950
Piano Quartet, Aaron Copland, 1950
The Unicorn, the Gorgon and the Manticore, madrigal ballet, Gian Carlo Menotti, 1956
Bomarzo, cantata, Alberto Ginastera, 1964

To Mrs Coolidge - the heartiest good wishes and appreciation of
the wonderful things she is doing for music in America
Ethel Leginska

ETHEL LEGINSKA, ENGLISH PIANIST, COMPOSER, AND CONDUCTOR, **organized the Boston Philharmonic Orchestra of 100 players and served as its conductor. An admirer of Elizabeth Coolidge, she composed and performed several works for chamber ensemble.**

Ancient Voices of Children, George Crumb, 1970
Nantucket Songs, Ned Rorem, 1979
Ode to Henry Purcell, Vivian Fine, 1985
Oedipus Memoriae, David Raksin, 1986

Many significant American premieres took place in the Coolidge Auditorium also: Rhapsody No. 1 by Bela Bartok and a complete program—consisting mainly of American premieres—devoted to the works of Paul Hindemith with the composer as violist. Noted artists, too, made their American debuts under the auspices of the Coolidge Foundation, such as the Adolph Busch Quartet and the Pro Arte Quartet from Belgium. On April 27, 1933, the great Austrian pianist, Rudolf Serkin, made his first American appearance playing sonatas by Bach, Beethoven, and Reger with violinist Adolph Busch in a Coolidge Auditorium festival concert. "Mr. Serkin," noted a reviewer, "has a reputation that is rising at home and abroad. His face and figure, which might be that of a nervous, aquiline, tousled young Mahler, made amusing contrast to the sturdy and slightly stolid aspect of Mr. Busch. He played with a wide range of tone—at will penetrating, high-colored, brilliant. . . . Within memory few had heard so zestful a performance of a sonata by Bach."

But the Coolidge concerts had their memorable innovative touches, too, such as the performance of Domenico Cimarosa's *The Secret Marriage* (1792) by the Juilliard School of Music in 1933—a first for the city of Washington. The press called the 1929 festival

ELIZABETH COOLIDGE WITH MEMBERS OF THE COOLIDGE QUARTET. **The first violinist William Kroll (second from left), not long after this photograph was taken in the early 1940s, formed his own quartet named after him. In 1942 he was awarded the Coolidge Medal for services to chamber music.**

ONE OF MRS. COOLIDGE'S FAVORITE PASTIMES WAS AN AUTOMOBILE **ride. In the car with her are members of the famous Pro Arte Quartet of Belgium. Known for their polished performances of modern music in Europe, the Pro Arte made their American debut during the first Coolidge Festivals at the Library of Congress.**

a "season of curious contrasts," however. John Jacob Niles and Marion Kerby sang Kentucky Mountain songs and black folk music, and "the first attempt to introduce modern jazz into chamber music" took shape within Nathaniel Shilkret's creative arrangement of W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues" for chamber orchestra.

Just as novel to Washington ears in 1929 was the orchestral transcription by Wolfgang Graeser of J. S. Bach's *Art of the Fugue* interpreted by the Philadelphia Orchestra under the direction of Leopold Stokowski. "We are dazed," said *Musical America*'s A. Walter Kramer, who felt nineteen uninterrupted fugues a ponderous musical journey for the Library of Congress audience. So did Mrs. Herbert Hoover, "who graced the festival for the second time," continued Kramer. "I wonder what her thoughts were when she listened to 100 minutes of fugues. She will probably not be the

MEMBERS OF THE COOLIDGE QUARTET, NAMED AFTER THEIR SPONSOR. LEFT TO RIGHT: WILLIAM KROLL, NICOLAI BEREZOWSKY, VICTOR **Gottlieb, and Nicolas Moldavan. During the 1938-39 season at the Library of Congress, the Coolidge Quartet played thirty-five concerts under the sponsorship of the Coolidge Foundation.**

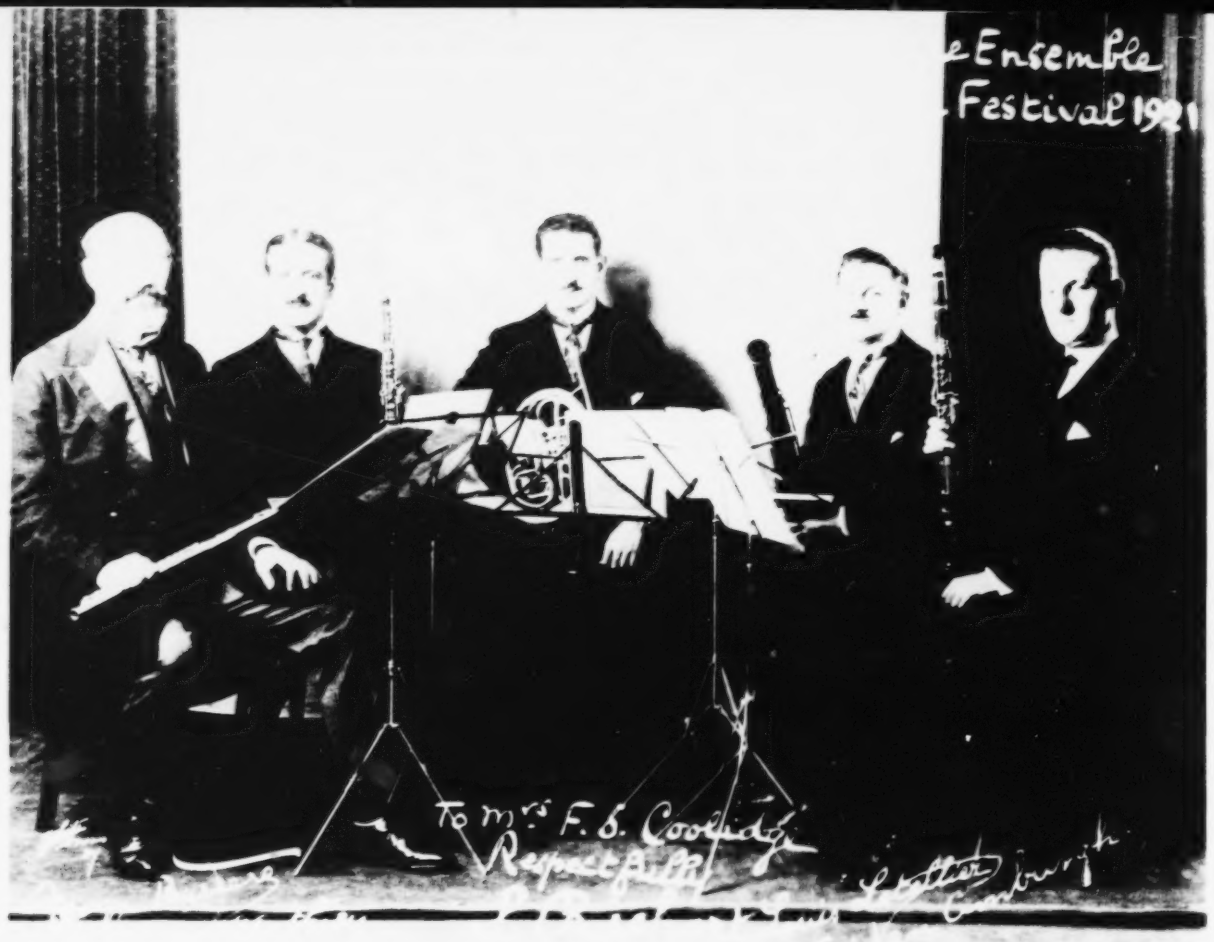
most inveterate attendant at these festivals in the future."

But the Coolidge Auditorium concerts continued to draw audiences that filled the hall and shared exciting moments of creativity with the century's greatest artists and composers. On Coolidge's eightieth birthday, October 30, 1944, Aaron Copland's Pulitzer Prize-winning ballet, *Appalachian Spring*, was given its premiere. Like the other two ballets on the program – Milhaud's *Jeux de Printemps* and Hindemith's *Hérodiade*—the Copland work was commissioned by the Coolidge Foundation and choreographed and danced by Martha Graham. John Martin, critic with the *New York Times*, noted that, while the tone of *Hérodiade* was somber, that of *Appalachian Spring* was "shining and joyous." "On its surface," he added, "it fits obviously into the category of early Americana, but underneath it belongs to a much broader and dateless category. It is, indeed, a kind of testimony to the simple fineness of the human spirit. . . . Copland has written the fullest, loveliest and most deeply poetical of all his theater scores."

Among the Coolidge papers at the Library of Congress are the correspondence, production information, scripts, and other materials relating to the genesis of the great ballet and the roles of Copland, Graham, Coolidge, and Spivacke in its creative development. In these fascinating documents we experience the felicitous melding of legend, poetry, motion, and music into a unified artistic adventure. "This is a legend of American living," wrote Martha Graham in the script she sent to Copland:

> It is like the bone structure, the inner frame that holds together a people. . . . There will be moments of dramatic urgency, of conflict and anguish side by side with moments of lyric awareness of simple things of living. There should be a sense of countryside, fields, dear relationships, and the usual in the life of the people. . . . I have used quotations from the Bible, not in any religious sense so much as in a poetic sense.

From the logistics end, we learn that Copland found the work best expressed through a chamber orchestra of thirteen players: a double string quartet, one double bass, one piano, and three woodwinds ("flute, clarinet and bassoon, probably"). While a small ensemble was



THE BARRERE ENSEMBLE, BERKSHIRE FESTIVAL, 1921. LEFT TO RIGHT: GEORGE BARRERE (USUALLY GEORGES BARRÈRE), PIERRE MATHIEU, **Santiago Richart, Louis Letellier, and Fred Van Amburgh.**

used for the Coolidge Auditorium premiere, a full orchestral version was preferred for later productions, such as the Tanglewood performance conducted by Serge Koussevitsky on July 28, 1946.

The legacy of Elizabeth Coolidge lies not only in the Foundation and the concerts, which have been broadcast live since 1933, but in the comprehensive collection of original manuscripts that she presented to the Library of Congress. Among these holographs are more than two hundred works dedicated to Coolidge or commissioned by the Coolidge Foundation—works of Ravel, Britten, Poulenc, Copland, Schoenberg, Webern, Stravinsky, and many, many others. These valuable scores offer rich resources for the study of modern music. But of the thousands of Coolidge materials in the Library—photos, scrapbooks, programs, clippings, scores—nothing tells us more about the creative spirit than the correspondence. Throughout her long lifetime, Coolidge corresponded with virtually hundreds of the century's most important musical figures. And through these letters, we are provided with provocative glimpses of their lives and feelings, their hopes, dreams, commitments, failures, joys, and griefs—and their dedication to Elizabeth Coolidge.

Of special interest is the large collection of correspondence between Mrs. Coolidge and Frank Bridge, the British composer whom she supported throughout most of his professional life. The letters are filed in more than twenty-five thick folders and range from 1922 to 1950. Similar lifelong financial support was given to Gian Francesco Malipiero and his wife: more than thirty years of correspondence documents Malipiero's musicological achievements as editor of the complete works of Claudio Monteverdi in a massive, multivolume set, as well as his own life as a composer.

Many letters in the Coolidge Collection are poignant and deeply moving. In a twelve-page letter to Mrs. Coolidge from Ernest Bloch dated September 5, 1920, for example, we share the despondency of a composer struggling to stay alive, to create, and to be understood: "And you have to go forward. . . . and to suffer and to help and to give," Bloch writes. "And we receive too often, as reward, ingratitude and misunderstanding. [But we must]...believe in the sun when surrounded by night and darkness."

For Martha Graham, her ability to move ahead was in a large measure due to "the knowledge that you believed enough in me to award me these works," as

To Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, in kindest remembrance of the Budapest String Quartet. Washington 1946
Violin
Josef Roismann
Viola.

THE BUDAPEST STRING QUARTET, WASHINGTON, 1946. LEFT TO RIGHT: JOSEF ROISMAN, EDGAR ORTENBERG, MISCHA SCHNEIDER, AND BORIS Kroyt. As quartet-in-residence at the Library of Congress from 1938 to 1962, the Budapest performed frequently in the Coolidge Auditorium.

she wrote to Elizabeth Coolidge in early 1944. "I feel it made me work with greater assurance than ever before. I felt in some sense 'grown up' . . . I feel that you gave me a freedom by your gesture of belief in me that I can never quite thank you for because it is a gift of life, the inner strength to go on."

But Elizabeth Coolidge had her own special spirit and inner strength. Well into her eighties, she continued to plan and manage her concerts and other musical activities, perceptively and intelligently, even in the face of heart strain and increasing loss of hearing. She was often bold and inventive; always sympathetic and sensitive. As Gustave Reese, the noted musicologist wrote, "Her judgement is sharp. Her inherited talents and her acquired culture account for the artist in her."

Even in her seventies she was a "bundle of imperious energy," according to the American violinist and conductor, Henri Temianka. And one of the most significant impresarial ventures she undertook in her later years was helping her friend, Mrs. Herbert Hoover, establish the Friends of Music at Stanford University in California—an organization that brought Milhaud, Bartók, Ralph Kirkpatrick, the Pro Arte Quartet, and many other great artists to the university and surrounding communities in the 1930s and 1940s.

At age eighty-five Mrs. Coolidge wrote to Ethel Bridge, widow of Frank Bridge, that her news was "always the same, namely: a vacillation between chamber music and chamber great grandchildren, of whom there are already five and two more due this winter. I gave six concerts in Berkshire during July and August . . . and we are now saving our resources to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Coolidge Foundation in Washington."

Mrs. Coolidge's composer friends had their own fond images of her, too. Frank Bridge likened her to "a circus horseback-rider" with 500 horses pulling at the reins in her hands; Roy Harris called her "a god-mother fairy myth" whose international benevolence had become "woven into the warp and woot of the texture of the

à Elizabeth S. Coolidge
Témoignage affectueux de longue amitié,
haute admiration et sincère dévouement

THREE PROMINENT MUSICIANS WHO PERFORMED OFTEN FOR Coolidge concerts, either individually or in ensemble: Georges Barrère, the French flute virtuoso; Carlos Salzedo, harpist and composer; and the cellist Horace Britt. As a trio, the group toured extensively in the United States.

Geo. Barrère Carlos Salzedo Horace Britt

1934

THE KNEISEL QUARTET, DECEMBER 22, 1917, NEW YORK. LEFT TO RIGHT: FRANZ KNEISEL, WILLEM WILLEKE, LOUIS SVECENSKI, HANS LETZ.

American musical scene." She possessed a characteristic wit, joie de vivre, and a perpetual optimism that kept her going even in the face of severe financial strain.

Mrs. Coolidge's inheritance by the terms of her father's will was about one million dollars—not particularly imposing, especially when one considers that between 1931 and 1933 her income was reduced drastically. "The governments in Chicago and Cooke County," she wrote bitterly to Frank Bridge, "are so insufficient and muddled that they do not collect their taxes even enough to pay their employees; much less to pay the interest due on their bonds, in many of which my trustees have invested and most of which are apparently being defaulted." While she was forced to cut back on her contributions, she never discontinued them. In 1953 she suffered a severe stroke and died in Cambridge, Massachussetts, on November 4 at the age of eighty-nine.

Throughout her lifetime Elizabeth Coolidge was the recipient of many awards and honors. In recognition of her remarkable campaign on behalf of chamber music, France awarded her the medal of the Legion of Honor and Belgium presented her with the Order of Leopold and the Order of the Crown. She also received several honorary degrees from American universities and colleges, such as Yale, the University of California, and Mills, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, and Pamona Colleges.

But sometimes the grandest tributes are the simplest. On her eightieth birthday the Library of Congress presented Elizabeth Coolidge with an album of more than five hundred signatures of prominent people whose lives she had touched in various ways. Inside the album was inscribed: "Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge has done what none before her had found the means to do—she has given the music on the shelves of the Library a living voice and let the people hear it." A loving gift in return for an enduring gift of love.

The photographs are part of the Coolidge Collection in the Library's Music Division.

The author wishes to thank the staff of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, in particular Gillian Anderson, Wayne Shirley, and Paula Forrest, for their help during her research for this article.

ELIZABETH COOLIDGE WITH AN ILLUSTRIOUS GROUP OF MUSICIANS IN PITTSFIELD, **Massachusetts, in 1921. Left to right: Ernest Hutcheson, pianist; David Stanley Smith, composer; Willem Willeke, cellist; Oscar Sonneck, the first chief of the Library's Music Division; and Efrem Zimbalist, violinist.**

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ELISE K. KIRK is an author, lecturer, and musicologist who has taught at Southern Methodist University and the City University of New York. Dr. Kirk studied music at the University of Michigan, Catholic University of America, and the University of Zurich in Switzerland, and wrote her doctoral dissertation on early twentieth-century chamber music. Her research in music and its cultural milieu has led to awards from the Smithsonian Institution, the Hoover Presidential Library Association and the American Council of Learned Societies. Dr. Kirk is founder and former editor of the award-winning *Dallas Opera Magazine*. She served on the National Advisory Board for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and has written for many national publications, including *Musical Quarterly*, *Opera News*, *The Magazine Antiques*, *Bulletin for Research in the Humanities*, and the premiere volume of the Library of Congress *Performing Arts Annual* (1986).

Dr. Kirk is co-editor of *Opera and Vocals*, and her most recent book, *Music at the White House: A History of the American Spirit* (University of Illinois Press, 1986), led to her interest in Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, whose friendship with Mrs. Herbert Hoover is the subject of a monograph she is currently writing for the Hoover Institution Press.

BALLET FOR MARTHA

THE COMMISSIONING OF APPALACHIAN SPRING

BY WAYNE D. SHIRLEY

THE ELIZABETH SPRAGUE Coolidge Auditorium in the Library of Congress has seen its share of notable concerts. Bela Bartók and Josef Szigeti gave their first joint American concert at the Coolidge Auditorium, a concert that, in its recorded form, has made many lists of the Hundred Great Recordings. The auditorium has presented first performances of works including Stravinsky's *Apollon Musagète*, the Bartók Fifth String Quartet, Gian Carlo Menotti's *The Unicorn, the Gorgon, and the Manticore*, and George Crumb's *Ancient Voices of Children*. Yet when the history of the Coolidge Auditorium is told, one date stands out clearly above all others: October 30, 1944, when Martha Graham and her company danced the first performance of Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring*.

MARTHA GRAHAM AND ERICK HAWKINS performing the meditative ending of *Appalachian Spring*. Left, the first page of the short score of Aaron Copland's as yet untitled ballet. Note that the optimistic dating "(1943)" has been changed to "(1943-44)."

HAROLD SPIVACKE AND ELIZABETH SPRAGUE COOLIDGE IN **conference**.

Appalachian Spring—the music, the dance, the very phrase have sunk deep into the American consciousness. And the fact that the work was commissioned by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation in the Library of Congress has been held up as an example for government involvement in the arts. A great composer is commissioned to do a work for a great choreographer, and America is enriched by the result.

In reality it was not that simple. The commissioning of *Appalachian Spring* involved missed deadlines, broken promises, and last minute substitutions. The principals in the drama of the commissioning must often have felt that they were creating an object lesson in the folly of government involvement in the arts rather than a work that would serve as a symbol of America. And *Appalachian Spring* is not the only work involved in the story of October 30, 1944: in all, the story involves significant works by five important composers—Samuel Barber, Carlos Chavez, Aaron Copland, Paul Hindemith, and Darius Milhaud.

The vicissitudes of the commissioning of *Appalachian Spring* are amply documented in the correspondence in the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Collection of the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Much of the correspondence is good reading as well as good cultural history: two of the writers, Aaron Copland and Martha Graham, were distinguished letter writers, and Harold Spivacke, though hampered by the fact that as Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress he bore an official weight, could manage when appropriate a style only slightly inferior to theirs. We will try here to tell the story of the commissioning of *Appalachian Spring* in documents, and in two parts. The part told in this volume of the *Performing Arts Annual* will take us from the initial idea for the commission through the end of 1943, when the project seemed to be in irreparable disrepair.

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The correspondence started in May 1942, with a suggestion by Erick Hawkins, a major American dancer then dancing with Martha Graham (he was to create the role of the Husbandman in *Appalachian Spring*), that Mrs. Coolidge commission works from Aaron Copland and Paul Hindemith for Martha Graham and her company and sponsor the first dance performance of these works.[1] He seems to have kept this suggestion a secret from Martha Graham herself: in her letter of August 2 she speaks as though she has no idea that the suggestion for such a program had been the idea of anyone but Mrs. Coolidge herself. But perhaps Miss Graham was being careful.

Late in May Hawkins followed up his suggestion by sending Mrs. Coolidge a book on Martha Graham. Mrs. Coolidge replied somewhat cautiously, in the first bit of correspondence relating to the commission that survives in the Coolidge Collection:

Hotel Continental
Cambridge, Mass.

May 29, 1942

Mr. Erich Hawkins
66 Fifth Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

I wish to thank you for sending me the book about Miss Graham which reached me safely.

In reply to your suggestion, I will say that the idea would appeal to me very strongly if I were not at present limited in my possibilities for such commissions as you suggest. I will, however, keep the letter in mind and discuss a future possibility for some such work on the part of the Coolidge Foundation in the Library of Congress . . . In the meantime, perhaps you know that the Coolidge Foundation is sponsoring a series of Summer open air concerts in Washington, among which Miss Graham will appear . . .

On June 16 Mrs. Coolidge followed this letter with a second letter, which accepted Hawkins's suggestion but in the process almost killed the project before it was born:

Dear Mr. Hawkins:

Since receiving your first letter, I have communicated with several composers who have asked me to commission them in various ways, inquiring from them whether they would be interested in such a work as you suggested for Miss Graham. Among those who have answered are X—— and Y——, either of whom apparently would be delighted and well equipped to write a dance.

I am writing this because I must consider two things. The first is, I cannot offer more than $500.00 for such a composition; and the second is that I could not guarantee the performance of such a work after its completion; but, on the other hand, it would give me great pleasure to contribute to so fine an artist as is Miss Graham, and I feel sure that if it were successful, she would not lack opportunities to present it under other auspices.

You may be disappointed at my thought about commissioning artists who are far less famous than the ones you mentioned, namely, Copland and Hindemith; but I believe you would also sympathize with me in desiring to help along less well known composers, whose works would receive splendid publicity by being performed by Martha Graham . . .

Dust and ashes! X—— and Y—— were composers of respectable stature, whose names were well recognized in the 1930s and whose music can still be listened to with pleasure (X—— is the compiler of a ballet, based on themes of a nineteenth century composer, which still holds its place in the repertory); but what Hawkins hoped for from Mrs. Coolidge was the chance for once to get a score from an absolutely first rank composer. Composers of lesser rank would happily write for Miss Graham, looking forward to the "splendid publicity" they would get (and many a composer of the 1940s and 1950s is now remembered entirely for his score for Martha Graham); but Miss Graham had never been able to turn herself loose on a work of a major com-

MARTHA GRAHAM. COURTESY OF THE MODERN MUSIC ARCHIVE

poser written especially for her. The whole point of a Coolidge commission would be lost if it were to become "just another gig."

At this point Harold Spivacke, Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress and Mrs. Coolidge's principal advisor, came to the rescue of Hawkins's original idea. Spivacke wrote the following on June 22 to encourage Mrs. Coolidge to accept Hawkins's suggestion:

> I am delighted to learn that you are interested in the possibility of commissioning a composition for Martha Graham . . . I must confess, however, that I am not wholly in sympathy with the choice of composers for this work. I do not believe that either X—— or Y—— will produce anything very significant in this form. X——'s work in the dance has been more or less limited to the more conservative ballet work, whereas Miss Graham's art is definitely modern and creative. I understand what you meant when you wrote to Mr. Hawkins that you would prefer to aid someone by giving him a commission which would enhance his reputation rather than commission someone who already enjoys great popularity. I should think, however, that this would lead you to choose some young composer rather than a mature composer who may not enjoy a great reputation because his work may not merit it.' As far as the money goes, this is a secondary matter because I happen to know that all composers are more interested in the honor of having you commission a work for them and I feel certain that you could get men of greatest reputation like Hindemith or Copland mentioned by Hawkins, or even Schoenberg or Milhaud to write something for $500 . . .

Mrs. Coolidge seems not to have replied directly to this letter. She was planning to move to Washington during the next month (in fact she moved on July 19); perhaps she wanted to talk to Dr. Spivacke directly. But at any rate, there was from this point on no turning back. Mrs. Coolidge was to commission two major composers to write dance works for Martha Graham.

Martha Graham and Mrs. Coolidge met for the first time in late July in Washington—during the "series of Summer open air concerts" mentioned in Mrs. Coolidge's first letter to Erick Hawkins. During this meeting Mrs. Coolidge mentioned her intention to commission a set of works for Martha Graham. Miss Graham responded enthusiastically to Mrs. Coolidge's suggestion. The next day the wheels began rolling in earnest:

July 23, 1942

Mr. Aaron Copland
American Music Center
17 East 42nd Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Copland:

Although I may be a little premature in writing to you before Dr. Spivacke addresses you officially, I am allowing myself the pleasure of asking you if you would accept a commission of $500. to be applied to the writing of a music score for a new dance program for Martha Graham . . . I spoke to Miss Graham about this yesterday and she was highly delighted in the hope of cooperating with you, and I need not

A YOUNG AARON COPLAND (192-). COURTESY OF THE MODERN MUSIC ARCHIVE.

tell you how much pleasure it would give me to receive an affirmative response.

The occasion for which I am planning this work (together with one or two other similar commissions) will be the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Pittsfield Festivals, which I hope will take place in Pittsfield in September, 1943 . . .

May I hear from you in care of the Foundation in Washington? And, in the meantime, please believe me to be

Always most sincerely and appreciatively yours,

Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge

Aaron Copland's reply combined enthusiasm with a proper deference to Martha Graham:

Box 104
Stockbridge, Mass.
July 31, 1942

Dear Mrs. Coolidge:

Thank you for your letter and for the offer of a commission for a Martha Graham dance score. I am, in principle, happy to accept. I have been an admirer of Martha Graham's work for many years and I have more than once hoped that we might collaborate. It particularly pleases me that you should make this possible, and also that I should be invited to take part as composer in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the historic Pittsfield Festivals.

However, this being a stage work, I think it would be wiser for me to contact Miss Graham before definitely committing myself. For example, I ought to know the subject matter of the dance piece, how long it should be, set for how many instruments, how soon it must be ready, etc. . . . As soon as these details are arranged, I shall write to Dr. Spivacke in order to formally accept the commission from the Foundation.

In the meantime, please accept my appreciation of your extraordinary efforts for contemporary music in our country, and my sincere thanks for being invited to take part in the celebration of your unique contribution.

Yours most cordially,

Aaron Copland

On August 2, Martha Graham wrote Mrs. Coolidge from Bennington, Vermont, starting an exchange of letters that deserve to be quoted in extenso:

Bennington College
Bennington, Vermont
August 2nd, 1942

Dear Mrs. Coolidge,

I cannot tell you how happy I have been over the events of Washington. I had had a premonition, a very strong one, that I was on the verge of a circumstance. Sometimes we have those strong directions to our heart and they prove to be vital to future

plans.

I am glad that the performances went so well and I am happy that you liked them, for I feel that you did. You have been a name to me for so long, a name that was a force for faith in creative effort. And when I met you it was as though we had met before. Then when you told me your plan I realized that this was not only a "first" for me but for American dance as well. To my knowledge this is the first time that a commissioning of works for the American Dance has ever happened. It makes me feel that the American dance has turned a corner, it has come of age.

So you can see what this has meant to me. I have dreamed of this happening—and now it has happened to me. In several ways the struggle has at times been pretty terrific. There is the magnitude of this act itself and then there is the symbol that it stands for. I have told no one as yet except Louis Horst, the pianist. Even my company does not know it because I wanted to have your permission to tell them when you are ready—after you have released it or when you see fit, or give me permission to do so. I do not know the procedure that you usually follow in such matters. I do understand, however, that it is subject to many things: war, money condition, perhaps others. I will bear that in mind.

The two composers you have chosen are very exciting to me. [At this point the "two composers" seem to have been Copland and Villa Lobos.] I could not have asked for a more wonderful choice. I hope that I can do something worthy of their music.

I do not know what you usually do about the script for dance action, etc. I thought perhaps it might be well to tell you a little of how I have worked up to this point. I have always chosen my subject when I was asking a composer to write for me. I submitted to him the idea and a detailed script, not of the dance steps, etc., but of the idea and the action. The reason I have worked this way is that I find I only do things well when I can feel my way into them as a dancer. I have done those things only that I could feel and understand, not in a verbal sense, perhaps, but in my medium, my instrument, my body. I am certain that you understand that, but I thought I should ask you about the script now. It usually takes me some time to prepare so I did want to talk to you soon. I wanted to know whether I could go ahead and think about the scripts, prepare a little dratt to submit to you, and ask your opinion. Of course I realize that all this would have to be sympathetic to the composer as well. So when you have thought of this will you let me know? I could send you a script that I have done for another time, that is next winter, and you could judge how I have worked.

I have come back to work with new vigor. I am preparing my programs for the fall. I shall not dance until November but I work slowly. I remain here until the fifteenth of August when the summer school closes. Then I rest for a little. There is a great flurry of activity on our Vermont hilltop this summer. We have no festival but we are all working and Erick Hawkins is working on some new dances to add to his own program of dances. We all feel more responsible to work harder in this grave world than ever before. Perhaps there must be more life more intensely and magically used at this time to meet the tragedies of destruction.

I hope you do not mind that I write to you on this machine. [The letter is typewritten.] They tell me that my handwriting is so hard to read and I know that you are a very busy lady.

It has been such a great privilege to meet you. I hope that I can work well. With deep thanks to you for your faith and your generosity and great courage in all things,

Martha Graham

(On August 7 Harold Spivacke wrote to Aaron Copland, offering him a definite commission to write a work for Martha Graham.)

August 8, 1942

Miss Martha Graham
Bennington College
Bennington, Vermont

My dear Martha: (I am taking the liberty of calling you thus, for I, too, feel that I have known you much longer and more intimately than is the fact, and I am sure you will not mind.)

I am glad to tell you that Aaron Copland has accepted our commission for writing a work for you under certain conditions, one of which is that he should learn from you just what you have in mind, how much time it is to occupy, what instruments, etc. I have therefore asked him to get in touch with you, and will do the same to you, giving you his address—Box 104, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. It is my thought that, as we are planning to have other works on the program, the piece should not occupy more than half an hour at the outside, and I also wish it to be composed as true chamber music, which is to say for an ensemble of not more than ten or twelve instruments at the outside. This, it seems, would be the most appropriate and beautiful work for such an occasion as ours and I should therefore recommend a small orchestra with one instrument of each kind, both wind and string, with piano.

You speak of showing me the script. I am going to ask you not to do this for I feel that your judgment with his will result in something much more perfect than anything I could suggest, and, as your medium is somewhat foreign and new to my experience, I don't think I could express any opinion of value. So please go on with the work and make whatever suggestions you agree to.

I have commissioned him unqualifiedly to write the work, but have been obliged to leave open the possibilities of performance (as I did with you) until we know a little more definitely just what our resources and possibilities will be. What I most hope for and intend is that the Coolidge Foundation should give a Festival in Pittsfield, thus linking the original Foundation with its highly developed successor. The only reservation which I have made in regard to subsequent performances is that the right of such performances should be the Foundation's for a year, which merely means that we should give our permission and that you should make a notice of such permission for such performance. Of course, you may be sure that the oftener and the more widespread this work will be presented, the better pleased shall we all be.

Now I come to another point. Upon a good deal of subsequent consideration, I have come to the con-

clusion that a commission to Villa Lobos would be exceedingly impractical, involving, as it would, the necessity of long distance communications between you, himself, and ourselves. I think it would be practically impossible under the present dangers, conditions of travel and communication, to arrive at any satisfactory result, although, as you know, he was one of our first choice[s] as a composer. Under the circumstances, if you will permit it, we shall ask Mr. Hindemith in place of Villa Lobos. I am somewhat doubtful as to whether he will be willing to accept such a fee as is possible to the Foundation, and if not, we will turn elsewhere. But let us hope for the best. I am sure that you will agree to this proposal, for in Mr. Hawkins' first letter to me his was one of the first names suggested.

May I ask you to show this letter to Mr. Hawkins as I have not time to reply to his last pleasant note,[10] which, after all, was about you and your work. Please thank him for it and ask him to consider this as a reply to him also.

I am so pleased at your happiness over your Washington experience. My daughter and I were equally so. It was a great pleasure not only to become acquainted with your art, but to know you personally. Please believe that I am

Very sincerely and cordially yours,

Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge

Martha Graham 66 Fifth Avenue New York
August 12, 1942

Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge
Music Division
Library of Congress Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Coolidge:

I am so glad to have your letter, and I love having you call me Martha. I am still living on the excitement of the Washington happenings, although I have been working very hard on my new piece which I will present in New York sometime before Christmas.

I have had a letter from Aaron Copland. He was very happy to be asked by you and he asked me certain questions which you have stated already—that is, what the work would be like, what time it would occupy, and also what arrangement could be made for the performing rights. I am writing to him at once, giving him an idea of what I would like to do and what I can do financially about the performing rights. As soon as I hear from him I shall let you know.

I very much appreciate your trust in me regarding the scripts, so I shall just go ahead with the composer and we will both do our best to make it a real festival and as gala as possible. I hope it can be given in Pittsfield, as you suggest. There is a sentiment about the place linked with your name which so many of us touching music and dance in the world hold, and we are really very grateful to Pittsfield as the place where it was started.

I understand and of course conform with your desire that the right of all performances should be the Foundation's for one year and that I should make notice when I wish to give a performance and to ask permission to do so. As you say, I hope I shall have to ask and ask and that there may be many performances.

I am very happy that the pieces should be composed as true chamber music—that is, for an ensemble of not more than ten or twelve instruments. That is the kind of orchestra I feel can be so rich, and a work written for such can be so imaginative. I should like to talk with Aaron Copland about his ideas as soon as the script is finished, but always with your recommendations and your desires in mind. I agree with you that a small orchestra with one instrument of each kind—both wind and string—and piano seems a perfect combination.

Regarding Mr. Villa Lobos, I can see the difficulties of working with him on a composition in that it would have to be done at such long distance. I had hoped, however, that we could have him as his music has always excited me and interested me as a dance possibility. It is so different from anything we have in this country, so rich in a regional sense. But if you feel we are taking great risks, due to conditions of travel and difficulties of communication, then I feel we should consider another choice, although, as you know, when you spoke of him I was completely

PAUL HINDEMITH, LOOKING VERY "INDEPENDENT." YET HIS SCORE FOR *HÉRODIADE* WAS ultimately to save the Graham dance program.

CARLOS CHÁVEZ, WHOSE *SINFONÍA DE ANTIGONA* SUGGESTED TO MARTHA GRAHAM THAT he would be an ideal composer for her *Medea*.

in accord with you. Naturally I am disappointed but I believe your decision is a wise one. Of course it could be done, but it would mean the use probably of microfilm to transport the score, and of course that might not be possible for him.

You suggest Mr. Hindemith, and that choice is almost equally as exciting in its possibilities. I don't know Mr. Hindemith but I understand he is quite independent. He might not be willing to accept the commission either because of the fee or because he might not know me, which is more likely, but I should be very happy to have him do a score. In the event of his acceptance I could go to see him and talk with him, or if he is in doubt and would like to meet me, because I feel certain he has never seen my work, I should be glad to go to see him. In case Mr. Hindemith refuses, I am sure you could find someone else who would do a beautiful work—perhaps some such person as Carlos Chavez whom I do know.

I have given your letter to Erick Hawkins, as you asked, and I feel he agrees with what I am writing to you at this time. I shall remain here for two weeks probably, or until about the first of September, working. Mr. Hawkins will also remain. It it were necessary or possible for me to see Mr. Hindemith I could conceivably go sometime during this time or immediately after the first of September . . .

Please give my best wishes to Dr. Spivacke. I hope your stay in Washington has not been too hot. And as always I am deeply grateful to you, and send my love.

Martha Graham

The name of Heitor Villa-Lobos, leading Brazilian composer of the first six decades of the twentieth century, shows up nowhere else in the correspondence concerning the Coolidge-Graham commissions. It is probable that, despite Miss Graham's crediting Mrs. Coolidge with suggesting Villa-Lobos, the composer was in fact Miss Graham's suggestion.[7] It is also possible that Mrs. Coolidge's reluctance to commission Villa-Lobos had more behind it than a concern for "the necessity of long distance communications": Villa-Lobos had a reputation of sometimes being difficult to deal with.

Whether this was so or not, Mrs. Coolidge read between the lines of Martha Graham's letter of August 12 her reluctance to deal with the "quite independent" Paul Hindemith. It was Carlos Chávez rather than Paul Hindemith whom Mrs. Coolidge wrote on August 25, 1942, offering him a commission "to write a piece of dance music to be interpreted by our leading American dancer, Martha Graham, in September or October of 1943."

Carlos Chávez—of the writers quoted in this article, only Chávez himself and occasionally Harold Spivacke granted his name the ornament of its accent—was in 1942 the best-known living Latin-American composer. Today he retains his reputation as a principal Mexican composer. Martha Graham had been impressed by his *Sinfonía de Antígona* of 1933 based on the story of Antigone and hoped for a similar masterwork on the story of Medea. Chávez seemed an ideal choice for a commission; yet the commission given him was to cause more trouble than the entire remainder of the Graham-Coolidge collaboration. In the end they would find themselves turning to the independent Mr. Hindemith to supply a work to substitute for the work they had asked for from Chávez.

But these troubles were still in the future. On November 4, 1942, Martha Graham wrote Spivacke telling him of her happiness and giving some hints of her ambitions for the program:

> I feel that the whole thing is slightly unreal. It seems a dream that Copland and Chavez should be doing something for me to dance. As a matter of fact I can think of little else than the plans for it.
>
> I am finishing a script for Mr. Chavez. It is almost ready and I should have it off in two or three days. I hope he will feel that it is something he will like to do . . . All I can say in a few words about it is that it is definitely not Mexican as that is something I should not presume to do. But I hope it will have some of the beautiful native strength of this place in it.
>
> I have talked to Aaron Copland. We had a nice talk. I feel that I have something he may like to do, judging from his conversation. That will be finished a little later than Mr. Chavez' script because of the matters of distance and the difficulties that arise from correspondence.

Thank you for everything you have done to make this all possible . . . I do want this to be an event. I mean by that a distinguished performance and an emotional event for the audience. I feel that the point of such an anniversary is one thing and then that it come in the midst of war makes the responsibility greater. I should like to feel that it meant something to the people who come to see it, a definite warm living thing in the face of so much else that is not. I feel that at this time the sheer physicality of dancing has a magic, that all virtuosity has a courageous place when there is so much death over the world. I keep thinking of Don Quixote and his—

"The thing that really matters is to lose one's mind for no reason at all".

I hope it will be something perhaps with that kind of important reason for the heart.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,
Martha Graham

The fact that the planned program came "in the midst of war" caused one change in plans even before the end of 1942: it was decided to give the program in Washington rather than in Pittsfield. The concerts given in Pittsfield in the summer of 1942 had been less well attended than usual because of the difficulties caused by gasoline rationing. As early as October 5 Mrs. Coolidge was feeling dubious about giving so special a program in Pittsfield; on November 12 Dr. Spivacke made a suggestion that was to capture for the Library of Congress one of its proudest moments:

I hate to say this but our experience in Pittsfield would seem to indicate that it is unlikely that a successful festival can be run there next September. Instead why don't we plan to produce the two dances which we have commissioned in the Library of Congress at your next birthday concert on October 30? We might even plan a repeat performance or a very small festival at that time.

On November 27 he was able to write

I am delighted with your agreement to my proposal that the dance program be held in the Library next October 30 and I think your suggestion that we have one or two other programs at the same time is excellent. After all there is no reason why the twenty fifth anniversary of your start in chamber music work should not be celebrated in Washington instead of Pittsfield. As a matter of fact I can think of many reasons why Washington would be preferable even if there were no war to hinder the Pittsfield Festival.

Spivacke did not elaborate on the "many reasons"; he had won the Martha Graham program for the Library. Now it was time to turn his and Mrs. Coolidge's attention to other projects while the creators produced their works. After all, the "very small festival" was still eleven months away.

Notwithstanding Mrs. Coolidge's request in her letter of August 8 that Martha Graham not send her scripts of the two ballets, there are copies of the scripts drawn up both for Chávez and for Copland in the Coolidge Collection. These scripts were not sent by Graham until September 1943, when it seemed unlikely that Mrs. Coolidge would see anything of these dances but a script for a very long time; and the script for Copland represents a revision not made until July 1943. But here, at the beginning of the year 1943, when all the parties involved in the commissioning relaxed and tended to other projects, would be a good place to consider the scripts.

Each script begins with an introduction describing the purpose of the dance. This is followed by a list of characters, with each character described in detail. Then there follows a one-page "outline of action" giving the sections of the dance with an indication of the length of each section. Finally there is a detailed description of the action of the dance.

The script for Chávez bears the title *Daughter of Colchis*, explaining that "COLCHIS was the barbaric land from which MEDEA came." Graham's script explains her view of this archetypal tragedy:

This is a legend of emotional conflict.
The legend concerns a MAN and a WOMAN.
The MAN is led away from the WOMAN
by a dream in the guise of a MUSE.
The WOMAN is dominated by a FURY.
The PASSER-BY is the spectator, the chorus . . .

The relationship between this script and the score finally written by Chávez is complex. Chávez's music, published in the form of a suite from the ballet, bears Martha Graham's title in Spanish translation—*La hija de Cólquide*. Graham, however, found it impossible to dance her script to Chávez's music and substituted another script, entitled *Dark Meadow*. Thus the Chávez-Graham ballet bears two titles.

The script for Aaron Copland bore no title at all; or rather it bore the title "NAME?" Its characters and incidents differ in several details from those in the final version of *Appalachian Spring*; in particular it involves itself with an attempt to reflect the effect of the outbreak of the Civil War upon the idyllic Pennsylvania landscape of the opening. But with all its differences from the work as it finally appeared, the note the script sounds is the note that Copland was to catch in a music which resonates the conviction of Graham's words:

This is a legend of American living.
It is like the bone structure, the inner frame that holds together a people.
Some things happen to our mothers and some things happen to us, but they all happen to us.
These happenings flow from generation to generation and they are our possessions and we are familiar with them.

This has to do with living in a new town, some place where the first fence has just gone up.
The different parts and different characters span a long time length and do not fit into any period of history. In that sense there is no historical development. It should happen as such memories flow through our hearts . . .

I have used quotations from the Bible, not in any religious sense so much as in a poetic sense. There are certain people who think in Biblical terms and incidents. To them the everyday happenings bring to mind similar happenings from the Bible . . .[3]

ERICK HAWKINS, WHO FIRST suggested the project which led to the commissioning of *Appalachian Spring*, in the role of the Husbandman.

It should all by theatrical clarity add up to a sense of place.

And for all the differences in the script it is already possible to recognize one of the great moments in *Appalachian Spring*. In the section "MOMENT OF CRISIS," Martha Graham describes "a scene of great restlessness. It need not be a definite picture of anxiety or have any of the exact feeling of war time. But there is a tension . . . All of the movements should seem to be about to break into a flaming scourge at any moment . . ." After giving the details of this section Graham describes the next part of the dance:

> At the moment of greatest tension when it seems that the whole thing will become a scourge of violence the DAUGHTER breaks the spell.
>
> She begins to dance in some simple way something like a song, any kind of song, perhaps just a lyric breaks the dramatic accumulative spell of the other dance of the women. This lyric sense gradually stops the tide of the other. As it does the nature of it changes. It becomes more like a psalm in its ecstatic quality . . .

Copland was to find that "something like a song, any kind of song" in the Shaker tune "Simple Gifts."

■ ■ ■

In April 1943, Harold Spivacke sent routine letters of inquiry to Martha Graham and Aaron Copland asking about the progress of the commissions. He had just talked with Chávez in person. On April 6 he reported to Mrs. Coolidge:

> I had a long chat with Mr. Chavez about the work for Martha Graham and suggested the accompaniment of a not-too-large chamber group, preferably under twelve pieces. I have also written both to Miss Graham and to Mr. Copland but have not heard from them as yet. As soon as I do, I shall get in touch with you. It seems that Martha Graham has just finished her script [presumably the one for Copland] just recently . . .

On April 8 he forwarded to Mrs. Coolidge a letter from Chávez which suggested that things were proceeding smoothly:

> April 3, 1943
>
> My dear Mrs. Coolidge:
>
> I have just returned from a short visit in the United States in which I had the chance to speak with Dr. Spivacke and Miss Graham in regard with the commission I have received from the Coolidge Foundation in the Library of Congress.
>
> Miss Graham prepared a script which I discussed with her in some detail. Also, I had a conversation with Dr. Spivacke and we agreed on the question of instrumentation.
>
> Miss Graham desires to begin working on the choreography very soon and I intend to deliver my score by the end of this month or before. I have already been working on it and it is progressing very well . . .

Five days later Spivacke finally heard from Aaron Copland. Copland's letter was on the stationery of the Samuel Goldwyn, Inc. Studios, where he was working on a film score:

> April 13, 1943
>
> Dear Harold:
>
> Your letter, sent to Stockbridge, just reached me out here. Since I hadn't heard from Martha Graham in several months, I was going on the assumption that the idea of a ballet was in abeyance. Your letter now brings the whole thing to life again.
>
> When I last saw her in New York, she promised to send me a scenario which we could discuss. That was about Christmas time and I haven't heard from her since. [There follow some business details.] Therefor, as far as Miss Graham goes, everything is set, except that I have nothing to work with, until she produces a scenario suitable to us both.
>
> Because of the job I have out here, doing the score for a picture called The North Star, my time will be pretty much taken up until the middle of June. However, I can probably sneak in some work on the ballet nevertheless. I assume that the performance date is still planned for late September.
>
> [There follows a paragraph on business matters.]
>
> My suggestion is that you write to Miss Graham, finding out the present status of her scenario, and then let me know how the whole matter stands.
>
> Best greetings to you!
>
> Aaron Copland

If Harold Spivacke was perturbed by the news that Copland "hadn't heard" from Graham, his letter of reply showed no traces of this. Surrounding a paragraph which concerned the business aspects of the commission was a first paragraph which joked about his missending of his previous letter to Copland ("Somehow you move around too fast for me.") and a final paragraph showing his interest in Copland's current work:

> When THE NORTH STAR reaches our movie theatre, you may rest assured that we shall stand in line with the rest of them to obtain tickets.[11]

The whole letter is vintage Spivacke: the bureaucrat demonstrating to the man of the arts that the government cares for his music and envies him his adventurous life.

On May 3 Spivacke was able to tell Mrs. Coolidge:

> I have at last heard from Martha Graham[12] that she has finished the second script—the one intended for Aaron Copland. As I told you previously, Carlos Chávez is already working on his score and expects to have it done in a few weeks . . . I am still planning the presentation of these two new ballets on October 30 here in the Coolidge Auditorium. I still think that we can build a small, inexpensive but still very significant festival around this performance . . .

On the same day he wrote to Aaron Copland, reassuring him about the forthcoming script from Graham and beginning a discussion of the instrumentation to be used:

> I phoned Miss Martha Graham a few days ago to find out what had happened to the new work. She tells me that she has just finished the script for you and will sent it to you immediately. In this connection, I should like to say a few words about the possible accompaniment. As you know, Carlos Chávez is writing a new ballet for the same performance, which we hope will take place on October 30. He is scoring his work for a small group of eight instruments. I believe that he is using string quartet, four

MARTHA GRAHAM AND ERICK HAWKINS IN *APPALACHIAN SPRING*.

woodwinds, and double bass. It is not essential that you do as he is doing, of course, but I hope that you will agree to write for a small chamber combination . . .

Copland answered on May 10:

Dear Harold:

I'll be waiting with much curiosity to see Miss Graham's scenario. It hasn't arrived as yet, however. I'm also glad to see that the date of the premiere is as late as Oct. 30 now. Don't be concerned about the number of musicians. There is no difficulty on that point since it's being taken into account as early as this. The type of musical instruments needed will depend on the nature of Miss Graham's scenario. I'll try to stick to Chavez' choice of instruments as far as practicable . . .

Slightly less than a month later Copland answered another letter of Spivacke's, reassuring him about Graham's script, asking about instrumentation, and ending

with an important announcement.

June 8, 1943

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of the 2nd. I received the script from Martha Graham and like it very much, on the whole. I've written to her, suggesting a few changes.

. . . if you can find out from Chavez what instruments he is using, that would be a help.

I think I have my first theme!

Best greetings to you.
Aaron

Spivacke's answer, written June 15, is a fine example of the impresario's talent for applying pressure gently and humorously:

> Chávez wrote me some time ago that he is using flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, first violin, second violin, viola and cello. I do not want to hold you to exactly the same instruments but it would of course be a great help to us if your accompaniment were for approximately the same group. Erick Hawkins was here recently and expressed a little fear at Chávez's combination, thinking it should have some percussion or at least a piano. I do not agree with him on this but you may.[1]
>
> . . . I am glad that you already have your first theme. I gather from my composer friends that this is often the hardest part of the work, so I shall assume that the whole score will be completed soon. Have you any idea when we might expect it?

Whatever may have been Spivacke's real hope of receiving the music for the commissions "soon"—Chávez's score, promised by the composer for the end of April, had not yet showed up—plans for the dance program on October 30, 1943, were going at full speed. Martha Graham had visited the Coolidge Auditorium on May 26 to see the place where she was to dance. Spivacke had sent her a floor plan of the stage of the auditorium for the convenience of her scene designer. Letters on matters of budget flew back and forth between Mrs. Coolidge and Dr. Spivacke. And on June 25 Spivacke wrote Martha Graham with an exciting prospect:

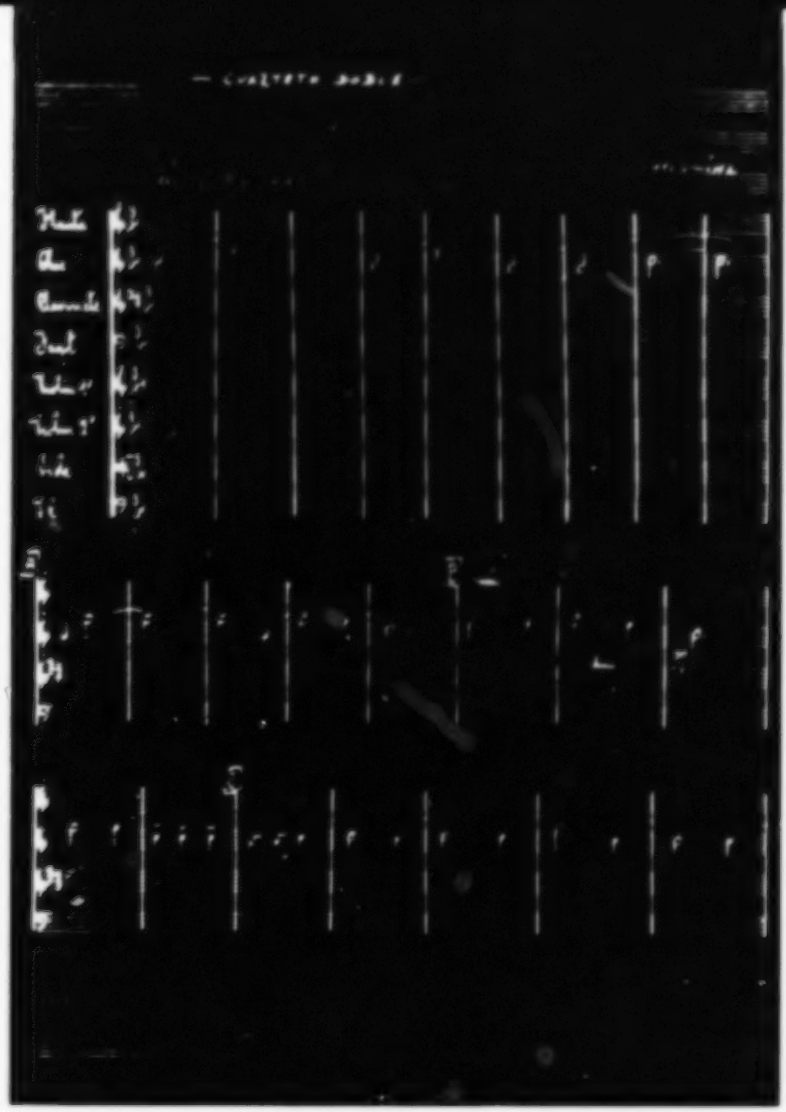
> I have had informal conversations with one of the executives of the Metropolitan Opera Company and am pleased to report that they are interested in a general way. They cannot consider a regular week's performance but might be able to consider the engagement of your ballet to produce these modern works on evenings when they have short operas . . .

But where was the music? On July 21 Spivacke sent telegrams to Chávez and Copland asking each composer when the Coolidge Foundation might expect a copy of his score. Chávez cabled back on July 30 that the first half of his score was done and would be mailed the next week. (It wasn't.) He promised the full score by the end of August. Copland's answer—still on Samuel Goldwyn stationery—was more ominous:

July 21, 1943

Dear Harold:

Two days ago I sent a long letter to Martha Graham[2] and was just about to write to you when your wife arrived. I can easily understand your anxiety about



the score, but the situation was too complex to be taken care of in a wire.

I wrote to Martha because I had just received the final version of the scenario. As I think I pointed out to you, I had suggested certain changes in the first version she sent me, and she promised to make them. Then there elapsed about a six week interval. She realized, of course, that the delay was serious because of the pressure of time, but couldn't make the revisions any sooner. The new scenario is an improvement, and I wrote her my acceptance.

In the meantime I was at work on the score, and have perhaps a third done. If I had nothing to do between now and Sept. 1st but write the ballet, I wouldn't hesitate to promise it for that date. But through a series of unforeseen incidents, the picture score I contracted to do is just now getting under way. In another week I shall be in the midst of it—and there are a lot of notes to write!

Martha wrote that the Chavez score is still not in her hands. Knowing him well, and the heavy season he has in Mexico at this time, I can hardly hope that his score will arrive soon, giving Martha something to work on until I am ready. As you probably know, he is famous for getting things done at the last possible moment.

In view of all this, I told Martha I thought she ought

THE FIRST PAGE OF CHAVEZ'S PIECE, WHICH HAS SOMEHOW BEEN metamorphosed in the writing from *Daughter of Colchis* to "Cuarteto Doble." This negative photostat, in a copyist's hand, is the only form in which the Coolidge Foundation received Chávez's manuscript. We are also providing a positive print for the convenience of our readers.

■

to write to you with the idea of finding out whether there was any chance of postponing the performances until Spring. I was very reluctant to make the suggestion, and only did so because I thought we could all do ourselves greater justice if we took a few more months time.

As I see it, if the postponement is out of the question, I can let Martha have about half the ballet to work on during the first weeks of September, and will finish up by Oct. 1st. This is on the assumption that the movie score will be out of the way by Aug. 31st. By "score" I mean piano reduction, from which I later make the instrumentation. In my case the instrumentation comes last, and all I can say is that it will be ready in time for orchestra rehearsals.

There is one other detail that hasn't worked out as I had hoped. Because of the nature of the scenario I have decided that the best possible instrumentation for my ballet would be piano and strings. In the case of the premiere that could mean piano and double string quartet. Since you have a flute and clarinet for the Chavez anyway, I may decide to add those two instruments. This means an addition of five players to the Chavez group, and I hope won't cause too much upset in the finances.

I hope this gives you a clear picture of the set-up. Let me know what is decided as soon as you conveniently can.

Greetings,
Aaron

This was indeed serious news, and the reflections on Chávez's habit of procrastination given in the fourth paragraph was perhaps the most serious news of all. Spivacke immediately sent Mrs. Coolidge a copy of Copland's letter, with the remarks:

> This is most discouraging. It would be putting it mildly to state that I am very much worried. I am loath to yield to Copland's suggestion for a postponement until spring. I had myself set August 1 as a deadline long ago. By this I mean that if we do not at least have Chavez's score by August 1, I do not think we should attempt a ballet performance and that we should begin to plan something else for October 30. I am not afraid of staying up nights at the last minute to prepare for the performance. In peace time I could almost guarantee a fine presentation but with war conditions coming, it may be better to be more cautious. Since you have had so much experience with such matters in the past, I should very much welcome your advice . . .

Mrs. Coolidge's advice, given in a letter dated July 24, was in the subjunctive mood—she clearly still hoped that the Chávez score would come in on time. But it makes no attempt to hide her displeasure:

> I do not wonder that you are troubled by the Graham program . . . I am particularly sorry for Martha's sake, for she does not appear to be to blame . . . I had in mind to offer the medal[1] to both Chavez and Copland, but if they both fail me in this I shall have no reason to do so.

Martha Graham, also, was becoming worried. Up to now she had avoided writing—she was busy with her summer season at Bennington—but on July 27 she wrote the first of a series of letters to Harold Spivacke that document her increasing anxiety. The letter starts with thanks for Spivacke's negotiations with the Metropolitan, and goes on to give details of her work at Bennington. Then she turns to the main concern of the letter:

> I am beginning to be very anxious about the Chavez and Copland works. I have had no word from Chavez but have written him and am wiring him tonight. I do know that Aaron is in Hollywood and had a letter from him this week which I answered at once . . .

There follows an extensive quotation from Aaron Copland's letter to Martha Graham, giving details on his progress in composing his score. Here is the start of Copland's letter as transcribed by Graham:

A LETTER FROM Aaron Copland to Harold Spivacke of June 8, 1943, in which Copland declares: "I think I have my first theme!"

NEW YORK OFFICE
729 SEVENTH AVENUE

CABLE ADDRESS
GOLDSAM

SAMUEL GOLDWYN INC., LTD.
STUDIOS-7210 SANTA MONICA BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED
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MUSIC DIVISION

June 8, 1943.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of the 2nd. I received the script from Martha Graham and like it very much, on the whole. I've written to her, suggesting a few changes.

I assume we are now all set, since your letter clears up our "business" arrangements, and is satisfactory to me. If you have occasion to write Miss Graham, please tell her that I have no intention of holding her to a minimum or maximum of ten performances during the first year, but only to the "usual" $15. performance fee whenever she performs the ballet on her own.

I shall assume that the premiere date is October 30th unless I hear to the contrary. Please be sure to let me know if there is any change, as the more time I have the better. Also, if you can find out from Chavez what instruments he intends using, that would be a help.

I think I have my first theme!

Best greetings to you.

Aaron

I have sketched out the music as far as the end of the lyric interlude. The courtship scene is finished, but that is all that is. Everything is still rough. The opening scene, however, is almost done. I was going well for awhile, and then suddenly bogged down. I don't know why. Your new script has been a help, and I hope to get started again. Right now I am concerned about the time limit. My score for the picture is still not written because of innumerable delays . . . through no fault of my own. But I am about to launch into it in earnest, and very much fear that there won't be time for the ballet once I get started.

If this was discouraging news for the completion of the score, the continuation of Copland's letter, containing the same warning as his letter to Spivacke of July 21, was even more ominous. Here is the continuation of the letter, again as transcribed by Graham for Spivacke:

> I am also worried about the Chavez score. He is now in the midst of his music season in Mexico, and how he will find time to finish the score I do not know. He is well known for getting things done at the last possible moment. What's to be done? I really think that you should give serious consideration to the possibility of postponing the performances until spring. Has the thought crossed your mind?
>
> And how do you think Harold Spivacke would react?

I haven't seen any public announcement of the event, so there may still be time. I don't mean to say that *absolutely necessary* I can't get the score ready in time . . . ," but *at best it would be a hectic business*, and I should prefer to take my time and do the best I can for you. From your angle also I should think the time element is very pressing. Mull this over in your mind.

The quotation of this section of Copland's letter was Martha Graham's way of passing on to Spivacke Copland's suggestion that the program be postponed. Graham continues to transcribe Copland's letter, giving his reasoning close:

> In the meantime I shall keep going. I would prefer not to send isolated scores, but you can have as much as is ready by the middle of September. How much that is is hard to say now, because so much depends on how difficult the movie job turns out to be. Certainly it ought to be half or more.

Graham then continues her letter on her own, giving her reaction to Copland's suggestion of a postponement:

> I wrote at once saying that I was eager to go through with it as scheduled, saying that it was arranged for Mrs. Coolidge's birthday and that there were other plans that involved New York performances that I could not write about at the time . . .

Graham goes on to excuse Copland—"I was later in getting him the final script and I sent him a second version of it which he seemed to like much better"—but details the hardships on her company of not being able to be certain about Chavez. This leads to an appeal to Spivacke:

> I am not wanting to bother you too much and I am in no way despairing. But I wonder if you can do anything to have Chavez or at least get some definite answer from him as to the time we can have the score? I know you have done all this but perhaps if you pressed him once more it might help.

On July 31—a mere day before Spivacke's deadline for going forward with the plans (a deadline Graham did not know about)—Graham was at last able to report to Spivacke that she had heard from Chavez:

> Dear Mr. Spivacke:
>
> At last I received a note from Carlos Chavez this morning. I was about to get a little desperate. This is the contents of the note:
>
> "Your ballet score already finished will be available next week to Spivacke Library of Congress" the note was later and of August Kindest greetings. Carlos Chavez."
>
> At least that is some definite news it is only means what it says. I wrote to him at once saying that I was so anxious to begin and that there were some plans for future performances. "You see there are plans about and if we do not get this done in time they have a large chance of falling through. It involves future performances So you see I am worried about time." Also . . ." "I do hope you will send the last part of the score by the end of August as I want to have the entire picture of it by hearing the orchestra."
>
> Of course this makes it difficult because I have people to whom I am committed but that will have to be all right. I shall work on some thing else and try to plan costumes and all details so that I can work with no interruptions when I do receive the score. I do plan to stay on here [Bennington College] until the 21st of August unless something unforseen develops. How long do you think it will be after you receive the work before I can have it? Also will you please drop me a line when it arrives so that I can stop feeling apprehensive?
>
> The scripts will arrive this week. There has not been anyone to copy them in the rush of the graduation activities here. But that is over today.
>
> With best wishes to Mrs. Spivacke and to you.
>
> Sincerely,
> Martha Graham

At the end of this letter Graham added in longhand (incidentally demonstrating the truth of her remark to Mrs. Coolidge that her handwriting is "so hard to read") a brief postscript:

> Perhaps you would drop him a little note saying I am very anxious to begin. I think that would have great weight. Please.

On August 10—ten days after his "deadline"—Harold Spivacke wrote Mrs. Coolidge again:

> Shortly after I wrote you last week, I received another telegram from Chavez saying that half the score would arrive here before the end of the week (last week) and the other half in September. To this day, I have heard nothing further and have received no score. I believe that we must make a final decision at the present moment. I do not believe that we can undertake to present the dance program on October 30 even if we do obtain the scores now. It is much too late and the difficulties of organizing anything during war time would make the project too dangerous. For this reason I should like to recommend a postponement. I do not recommend that we cancel the commission. Chavez really has no excuse because he has had Martha Graham's scenario about half a year now and has still promised to deliver the score by the end of April. Aaron Copland, on the other hand, has some excuse because in that case Miss Graham was a little slow in getting the script to him . . . At any rate, what I am now recommending is that we grant to the composers a short extension of time—let us say until December 1—and try to present the dance program later on this season . . .

At the same time Spivacke answered Martha Graham's letter of July 31, informing her that Chavez's score had not been received by the Library and giving her the news that he, Spivacke, had written Mrs. Coolidge suggesting a postponement of the program.

Mrs. Coolidge's acquiescence in the postponement, given in a letter of August 12, was grudging indeed:

> I am so distressed as you are that our plans made so long ago are still held up by the irresponsible artists with whom we have tried to cooperate. I do not know what to say about the postponement, for it seems to me that we cannot afford to experience an outlay, except for some special occasion, and I know of no such special occasion unless we postpone it for a whole year. It has occurred to me, however, that our proposed festival might occur in April instead of October, but I fear we could do very little more than to

BENNINGTON COLLEGE
BENNINGTON
VERMONT

July 31, 1941.

Dear Mr. Spivacke:

At last I received a wire from Carlos Chavez this morning. I was about to get a little desperate. This is the contents of the wire:

"First half score already finished will be airmailed next week to Spivacke Library of Congress the rest not later end of August Kindest greetings."
Carlos Chavez.

At least that is some definite news if it only means what it says. I wrote to him at once saying that I was so anxious to begin and that there were some plans for future performances. "You see there are plans afoot and if we do not get this done in time they have a large chance of falling through. It involves future performances. So you see I am worried about time." Also.. "I do hope you will send the last part of the score by the end of August as I want to have the entire picture of it by hearing the conclusion."

Of course this makes it difficult because I have people to whom I am committed but that will have to be all right. I shall work on some thing else and try to plan costumes and all details so that I can work with no interruptions when I do receive the music. I do plan to stay on here until the 21st of August unless something unforseen develops. How long do you think it will be after you receive the work before I can have it? Also will you please drop me a line when it arrives so that I can stop feeling apprehensive?

The scripts will arrive this week. There has not been anyone to copy them in the rush of the graduation activities here. But that is over today.

With best wishes to Mrs. Spivacke and to you.

Sincerely,

Martha Graham

Perhaps you would drop him a little note saying I am very anxious to begin I think that would have great weight Please.

A LETTER FROM MARTHA GRAHAM TO HAROLD SPIVACKE OF JULY 31, 1941, with the following postscript: "Perhaps you would drop him [Chavez] a little note saying I am very anxious to begin. I think that would have great weight. Please."

[redacted]

give the two performances of the Dance. I shall have to leave this decision to you and Dr. MacLeish . . .

Harold Spivacke's answer, written on August 16, suggests that in conversation Mrs. Coolidge may have proposed an even more radical solution to the problems of the embattled dance program:

Dear Mrs. Coolidge:

> Thank you for your letter of August 12. After careful consideration and a short conversation with Mr. MacLeish, I think it would be very unwise to cancel the commissions for the dance program. I shall write to the two composers and say that we must have the music by December 1 but that we shall not be able to tell them exactly when we can use it. Mr. MacLeish also agreed that it would be a bad policy for us to cancel these commissions under any circumstances but simply to accept the works and put the men and decide later when we can present the dances . . . We can discuss the possible dates for the presentation of the dances when you come to Washington.

Cancellation? There is no other suggestion in the correspondence that this step was ever seriously considered. The letter that Spivacke sent to Martha Graham on that same day mentioned merely the postponement of the program. Indeed it specifically assured her that there would not be a cancellation:

August 16, 1943

Dear Miss Graham:

> It is with deep regret that I must inform you that we have decided to postpone the proposed dance program indefinitely. As yet, I have not received a note of music from either composer, but even if I got them now, I should be afraid to tackle the thing in such a short time. This does not mean that we have given the thing up completely. Mrs. Coolidge hopes that we can present the works this spring or next fall . . . We have not cancelled the commissions but simply given the composers until December 1 to complete the works. I mentioned this to show that we intend to go ahead with it as soon as it is possible for us to do so. I know this must be a great disappointment to you but I can only assure you that I did everything in my power to bring the thing about and shall continue to do so . . .

Martha Graham answered this letter with her customary brave courtesy:

August 19, 1943

Dear Mr. Spivacke:

> Your letter came this morning. I suspected that it would be something of the kind but it is needless to say that I am terribly distressed about it. I had hoped it could go through as scheduled. But I do know that it would be almost impossible to get it finished in time even though the score arrived from Mexico at once. I am only afraid that he has postponed writing it.
>
> I do hope that it does mean only a postponement. It seemed to me that this was the beginning of something that could have great possibilities for so many people working in the arts that concerned music and the dance and the stage production of these works. I feel left so strongly that there is an expression of America that has never been presented and that this was the start . . . You do think it can be done if the scores come in? . . .

Spivacke wrote immediately (August 24) to assure Graham that he and Mrs. Coolidge still planned to give the works. His letter gives a glimpse of the more mundane problems of putting on an exceptional concert in wartime:

> I know that if you had to, you could probably prepare this in a few weeks but our experience in engaging musicians at present is such that I hesitated to undertake the job. It is almost impossible to find good woodwind players who are not in the service at present. Furthermore it is really difficult to get parts copied. These are only simple problems compared to what will probably arise once we start to stage these works . . .

Martha Graham answered on August 29 with a letter which thanked Spivacke for his reassurance and talked of her current plans. One of these plans bears an ironic relationship to the Coolidge project:

> I have already talked to Samuel Barber about a piece. He is in the army in special services. I think there is a possibility that he can do a short piece for me while he is in Texas where he has gone to write something about the Air Force. I understand . . .

Samuel Barber did not, in fact, write a piece for Graham in 1943. But it was Barber who finally in 1946 produced a usable score to the script Martha Graham had devised for Chávez. Graham danced Barber's score as *Cave of the Heart*; the climactic section of it, retitled *Medea's Meditation and Dance of Vengeance*, is one of the standard works of the American concert repertory.

Graham's letter of August 29 also contained copies of the scripts she had devised for Copland and Chávez. A year earlier Mrs. Coolidge had asked Graham not to show her the scripts; by now Graham probably felt that Mrs. Coolidge deserved some sign of a return from the work that she and Harold Spivacke had put into the project. So far these typewritten sheets of paper were the only results the Coolidge Foundation had seen for over a year of labor.

On September 13 Mrs. Coolidge arrived in Washington, D.C., for her winter stay. (Spivacke duly arranged for the train from Boston to be met by a wheelchair.) Two days later Martha Graham made a gesture indicating her discouragement with the delays the project had encountered and reaffirming her gratitude for Mrs. Coolidge's support. Despite Mrs. Coolidge's request of August 8, 1942, that Graham not send her copies of the scripts, Graham sent them to her with the explanation: "I had hoped you could see these works in dance form first but I realize that will have to come later."

In early October an event occurred which would keep Mrs. Coolidge from giving much attention to her concert series in general or the Martha Graham program in particular: she was rushed to the hospital, where she underwent a major operation for gallstones. It was late November — well after the date originally set for

the first Library of Congress performance of the Graham dances—before the seventy-nine-year-old Mrs. Coolidge was allowed to leave the hospital.

• • •

In late October the gloom that had overspread the project was lightened by a letter from Martha Graham to Harold Spivacke. Here, finally, was good news:

66 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York
October 25, 1943

Dear Mr. Spivacke:

I am quite excited. At last the moment arrived when I heard some music. Aaron's. He came Friday and played what he has written and it is very beautiful. It is not finished but at least it is clear and definite in line and I can tell the quality of it. I like it so very much and I know I shall be very stimulated to work to it when I receive it.

I am sure this must be as good news to you as it was to me. When I heard it was Aaron Copland calling I literally fell to the telephone. He told me he was writing you at once.

Her letter continues with a discussion of scoring. Not knowing that Spivacke and Copland had already corresponded on this topic she continues (same paragraph):

I have only one worry and that is the orchestration that he plans. It will sound very wonderful, I am certain, but I worry about being able to use as many different musicians. Aaron tells me that it can be arranged for as few as two pianos or expanded to large orchestra but I had hoped to keep the original scoring intact as much as possible as I do feel the single piano is not adequate. I said nothing to Aaron about it as I do not know what scoring Chavez is planning. Do you? I thought it might be handled much better by you than by me but if you wish I can do it.

I had tried to have my other works scored around the same ensemble. I know that cannot interest a composer but it would make planning easier. I am very anxious to know about this as I hope to have the Hunter Johnson work which I finished this summer [*Death and Entrance*] scored for similar arrangement so that if I can manage a little season of say a week that I can vary my program around the same instrumentation and have a sense of repertoire. Don't you think this is a good idea? What do you advise?

I plan to give a program here December 17th and 26th. I will give the Johnson and a new short piece by Paul Nordoff, [*Salem Shore*] which I am at work on. I felt it necessary to do some work now as long as the other works were on the way still. Could you let me know soon about the matter of scoring? This work I speak of cannot happen until I have the Coolidge works in performance—but I do want to prepare. I hope we can do it in the spring. Do you know any more on that score than before?

I have just heard in a roundabout way that Mrs. Coolidge has been ill and has been in a hospital. Is that true? If so I am so sorry and would like to write to her and perhaps send her some flowers.* Can you tell me where she is and how she is and will you send her my love when you write until such time as I can tell her too, please?

With best wishes to you and thanks always for your help.

Sincerely,
Martha Graham

Spivacke answered Graham on October 30—the day for which the Library of Congress performance of the Copland and Chávez ballets had initially been scheduled. Spivacke was pleased to hear about Graham's reaction to Copland's music (and relieved to hear that a fair amount of the piece had indeed been written). He would prefer that Graham rather than he write to Copland about the scoring of his piece: "as the one commissioning the work, of course, I hesitate to be too strict." He passed on the news that Mrs. Coolidge was recovering satisfactorily from her operation. His letter closed with what had become Topic One of the correspondents:

I simply cannot get any word out of Chávez but if I do, I shall certainly notify you.

In early November Chávez finally broke his silence:

November 6, 1943

Dear Dr. Spivacke:

Just a few words to tell you that today I sent to you by air express the score of the first parts of the Cuarteto Doble for Miss Graham. The complete score will be finished and sent to you before the end of the month.

Yours very sincerely,
Carlos Chavez

This was good news. Yet what Chávez sent in fact were fifteen pages of score in negative photostat,* representing only the first four of the eleven sections of Martha Graham's script. Given his past performance, could Chávez's promise to finish the rest of the score—the nine sections remaining, including the main conflict of the dance—"before the end of the month" be trusted? Nonetheless, Spivacke wrote back a cordial letter of thanks. No further music came; instead a letter from Chávez dated December 18 included the following ominous promise:

I hope to send you some more pages in a few weeks . . .

"Some more pages": no longer "the complete score." Clearly the problems with Chávez were not at an end. Hidden in the first letter was an even more serious problem. The score for Martha Graham's script baring the soul of Medea had become a "Cuarteto Doble"—an exercise for alternating string and wind quartets. In the section of the work sent to Spivacke on November 6 there were exactly three measures in which both the winds and strings played together; otherwise the piece consisted of alternating sections for wind quartet and string quartet, written in an abstract style which did not suggest Colchis nor indeed Mexico City. When Martha Graham finally heard the opening music of the "Cuarteto Doble" she responded, in a letter to Harold

Spivacke, with something like despair:

> I have the few manics of the Chavez music. I had it arranged for piano for rehearsal purposes. It is difficult to tell much about it as it is so small a part of the whole. Although I may have reason to change my mind when the rest of it comes I do want to be quite frank with you about it. The writing seems so far to be in strict musical terms without stage awareness. As I say I may have every reason to change my mind when the music comes, I hope I may. Although I feel it seems to have very little to do with the stage piece as we talked of it, I do know that I can with great concentration make a dance counter point to it. It is difficult to do but I have done it and some of my best work has been done in that way. But to do this I must have all the music so that I can plan the line carefully. And I am afraid to expect any music until I see it. I am certain you must feel the same way. If he does not get it to us soon what shall we do, give up the idea of a Chavez score or wait an indefinite period? I know that you have done all you can do. But I think perhaps we can plan. Was the understanding with him that the first of December was the latest date to have the score in? You see it is a year this month since he has had the script. And if he does not finish it I would be more than willing to start afresh with some one else. The difficulty is that would mean more delay, of course.

So at the beginning of 1944 the project of giving a dance concert with freshly commissioned works of major composers choreographed by Martha Graham seemed to be in disrepair: the works were unfinished, the choreographer discouraged, the patroness recovering from a serious illness. There was little indication that by the end of the year the patroness's eightieth birthday would be celebrated by the most brilliant musico-dramatic evening the Coolidge Auditorium was ever to see. It seemed that perhaps Graham, Coolidge, and Spivacke had been following Don Quixote's advice—quoted by Graham early in the correspondence—and losing their minds "for no reason at all."

Graham's letter to Spivacke continued:

> I do have some of Aaron's music. I like it very much. It is clear and open and very moving. I know he has more finished than he has given me. I plan to begin work tomorrow on what I have.

Doubtless Graham added this paragraph as consolation to Spivacke for the bad news she had given him in the paragraph before. But to a present-day reader there shines through it the promise that all the effort of the past year and a half would be amply repaid. An American Eden was about to be shaped on the stage of the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Auditorium.

Notes

1. Since we do not have Hankins's letter, it is impossible to be sure that Hankins suggested commissioning Copland and Hindemith specifically, rather than "composers of the caliber of Copland and Hindemith." We must infer the details of this letter from Mrs. Coolidge's replies.

2. It was not until October 1947 that Mrs. Coolidge noticed the proper spelling of Hankins's first name.

3. X——— was in his midthirties in 1942; Y——— was just under fifty.

4. This is the first indication in the correspondence that more than two works might be commissioned.

5. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, had been the location of Mrs. Coolidge's first festivals, starting with the first Berkshire Festival of Chamber Music on September 16–18, 1918.

6. Graham writes "so though."

7. Martha Graham would still have remembered the bad old days when choreographers dictated to the composer every detail of the dance, entirely formulated before the first note of music was written. Tchaikovsky's masterpieces, along with many a ballet of lesser stature, were written to these preposterous specifications.

8. Graham writes "to by."

9. Mrs. Coolidge's carbon reads "and will to"; doubtless she corrected her original, perhaps she cleaned up the syntax as well.

10. Hankins's "pleasant note" is not in the Coolidge Collection.

11. Another possible explanation for the sudden appearance of Villa-Lobos in this correspondence is bizarre enough to be suggestable only in a footnote. Mrs. Coolidge, who was seventy-seven at the time of the conversation with Martha Graham which is the subject of Graham's letter of August 12, may simply have made a verbal slip in talking to Graham, saying "Villa-Lobos" rather than "Chavez." (Villa-Lobos and Chavez were by far the two most famous south-of-the-border composers; it was a likely slip to make.) Graham would then have played along with Mrs. Coolidge's mentioning of Villa-Lobos as the composer; Coolidge would then have steered the correspondence back to Chavez.

12. The final version of *Appalachian Spring* makes no reference to these Biblical quotations. But many of them are from the first chapter of Genesis, and the last of them is "IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH." In 1947 Copland was to write *In the Beginning*, a setting of the opening verses of Genesis for unaccompanied chorus and solo alto. Perhaps these quotations found resonances in his mind.

13. Harold Spivacke to Aaron Copland, April 15, 1943. Copland's score for *The North Star*, an excellent score with some premonitions of *Appalachian Spring* (though no actual shared thematic material), was suppressed along with the film itself after World War II, when the pro-Russian sentiments of the film became an embarrassment for Goldwyn. A brutally redited version entitled *Armored Attack*, occasionally seen on television and furnished on rental to those who attempt to rent *The North Star*, does justice to neither film nor score. Thus the score immediately preceding Copland's most popular score is one of his most obscure.

14. Apparently by telephone. Spivacke sent a letter to Graham on the same day he wrote Mrs. Coolidge saying that he "enjoyed talking to [Graham] the other day," giving her Copland's Hollywood address, and saying that he looks forward to Graham's planned visit to the Library of Congress—presumably the visit she actually made on May 26.

15. There is a piano, though no percussion, in the chamber version of *Appalachian Spring*.

16. This letter is quoted at length in Martha Graham's letter to Harold Spivacke of July 27, quoted in this article.

17. The Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge medal for services to chamber music.

18. Ellipses in Graham's transcription of the letter.

19. Again, ellipses are Graham's.

20. It wasn't.

21. These are Martha Graham's ellipsis marks, not the present writer's.

22. A carbon of a letter from Mrs. Coolidge's secretary to Mr. and Mrs. Wessels, "old friends of Mrs. Coolidge," gives November 29 as the date when Mrs. Coolidge is to leave the hospital.

23. That is, she is assuring Spivacke that she does not plan to do the work of repertoire she discusses in the previous paragraph until after the Coolidge works have been performed at the Library of Congress.

24. The Coolidge Collection contains no note sent by Martha Graham to Mrs. Coolidge during the latter's stay in the hospital. But notes sent to hospital patients are notorious for disappearing amid the pressures of hospital housekeeping.

25. The Coolidge Foundation never did get the original manuscript of the score. To this day it owns photostats only.

26. Martha Graham to Harold Spivacke, January 16, 1944.

All of the illustrations are from the collections of the Library's Music Division.

WAYNE D. SHIRLEY is a reference librarian in the Library's Music Division. He has contributed articles on Victor Herbert, George Antheil, and George Gershwin to the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, and is currently editing the fourth movement of Charles Ives's Fourth Symphony.

BY AURELIO DE LOS REYES

GEN. PANCHO VILLA, BETWEEN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1914, preparing for the Seige of Torreon. His uniform was probably given to him by Mutual Film. Newsreel.

WITH VILLA NORTH OF THE BORDER

ON LOCATION

THE SPECTACULAR MOBILIZATION OF THE VILLISta army for its entry into Mexico City in December 1914, together with the Zapatista troops after the expulsion of President Carranza, was followed by internal dissension among the revolutionaries, which weakened the Villistas. This was the principal cause of their later defeats at the hands of Alvaro Obregón in Celaya during the first half of 1915. That same year President Wilson's government was being pressured to intervene in Mexico and put an end to the disorder. According to author Berta Ulloa:

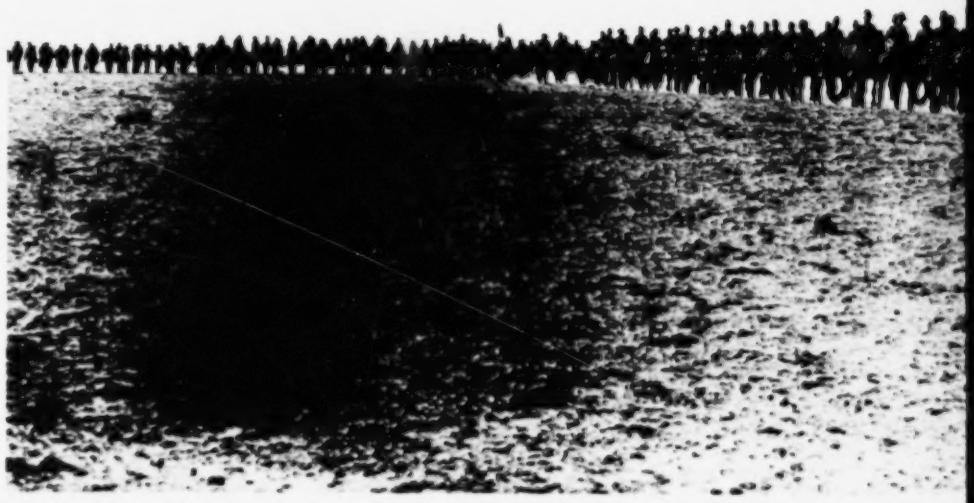
> The North American government's attitude began to change with the defeat of Celaya. Wilson confidentially explained to Bryan: "there is a lot to think about if it is certain that Carranza forces have defeated Villa." And then the President and the Secretary of State told the press that the "man in whom they had placed their hopes for the pacification of Mexico could no longer be considered as a decisive factor in the revolutionary movement."

This is a continuation of the article "With Villa in Mexico: On Location" which appeared in the 1986 Photography Arts Annual and covered the events surrounding the Mexican Revolution from 1913 to 1914 as they pertained to the filming of the Battle of Ojinaga, the taking of Gomez Palacio, the siege of Torreon, and the filming of The Life of Villa.

THE ROAD OF SORROW

From the Battle of Ojinaga period which was described in the first part of this article.

THE ROUTE OF THE ROAD OF SORROW FOLLOWED by the Mexican refugees on their way to Marfa, Texas, after the taking of Ojinaga.



"THE ROAD FROM HERE TO MARFA, THE NEAREST RAILROAD POINT, is lined with federal deserters." Prints and Photographs Division.

"THOSE WHO ESCAPED OVER THE RIVER LAST NIGHT . . ." *NEW YORK Sun*, January 12, 1914.

MEXICAN REFUGEES TRAVELING THE SIXTY-SEVEN-MILE ROAD OF SORROW FROM PRESIDIO to Marfa. This may be Charles Rosher photographing Federal prisoners. *Reel Life*, May 9, 1914.

In April 1915, after the fighting in Celaya, John Kenneth Turner, who had written *Barbarous Mexico* in 1909 to denounce the injustices of the *Porfirista* regime, published "Villa as a Statesman," in which he accused the *caudillo* of being ambitious and a murderer. He compared him with Huerta for his dictatorial, repressive methods. In his eyes he was a corrupt nepotist. He claimed that Villa had given haciendas to his generals instead of distributing them among the laborers, that he had given his brother the gambling concessions in Juárez, Mexico's Monte Carlo, and a meat packing plant in Chihuahua. He called him a cattle rustler, a bad governor, a womaniser and many other names:

> My conclusion is that Francisco Villa, head of the so-called Conventionist Party, is still Doroteo Arango, alias Doroteo Castañeda, alias Pancho Villa—bandit.
>
> Villa has developed neither social ideas nor a social conscience. His system is the system of Diaz. . . . Robbery, terror—two words spell it. The villa theory is that the State exists for Villa and his friends.[2]

The film *The Life of Villa*, which just one year earlier had flattered Villa, was reedited and distributed as a four-reeler by Mutual Film Corporation under the title *The Outlaw's Revenge*. The advertising explained that it was the story of the famous Mexican rebel chief, Francisco Villa—"vividly portrayed among the hills and valleys along the Rio Grande"—whose sisters were attacked by two federal officers.[3] As a result of this attack one of the sisters committed suicide and the other went out of her mind. The outlaw decided to take his revenge "in regular Monte Cristo style."[4] The producer did not give the names of any of the participants.

To have worked with or for Villa was no longer a matter in which one could take pride. In September 1916, *Moving Picture World* published a note on William Christy Cabanne and the cinematographic dramatization of the life of Villa was not included among the film titles which they considered to be the director's most important.[5] One year later they published another note on Raoul Walsh and omitted mentioning that the actor had interpreted the part of Villa as a young man in Cabanne's film.[6] They said, however, that he became famous because of his interpretation of John Wilkes Booth in *The Birth of a Nation*, a film

"SOLDIERS, camp followers, and women, four thousand souls, make the three-day journey as prisoners of U.S. troops on the border." *Pathé's Weekly*, January 29, 1914.

directed by David Wark Griffith during the second half of 1914 and the beginning of 1915. A Villista past was now a black mark on anyone's curriculum vitae. Many years would go by before their work with Villa would be considered again.

After Villa's battle against Obregón in June 1915 in Aguascalientes, which was the culmination of a series of defeats which began in April in Celaya, Villa retired to the north of the country in an attempt to regroup his forces in the state of Chihuahua which was still under the control of his partisans. In August he had conversations with George Carothers, a special U.S. representative, to talk over various matters. These interviews

> took place on the 10th and 11th. The Texans treated the Villistas quite badly, and if it had not been for Scott's chief of staff and a cavalry troop, the El Paso mayor would have arrested Villa. All the problems with the North Americans were solved during the conversations—according to their calculations they had nearly one hundred million dollars invested in Mexico—since Arango agreed to suspend the meeting with the miners (which he promised to provide the trains necessary for transporting American products and to give them all the necessary guarantees). As for the businessmen and foreigners.... Villa accepted the return of their establishments and goods as well as the installations of the Santa Rosalia Power Company which had also been confiscated. He also promised Scott not to apply the decree of 3 August to the cotton companies in La Laguna which would have implied a tax of 11 dollars per bale,

among other things." Carothers took the opportunity to send Villa an invitation to unite the various factions and look for a solution to the problem of the pacification of Mexico.

But there was no conciliation in spite of U.S. pressure. Months later Villa, on the other side of the mountain, made his way to Sonora to attack the remaining Carrancista forces in the frontier area. Victory there would provide him with an extensive border which would be difficult for U.S. troops to patrol, and in turn this would mean greater possibilities for arms trafficking. In Sonora he had numerous sympathizers, among them the Yaqui Indians. His final objective was to make his way south and reestablish contact with Zapata."

THE ROAD OF SORROW
From the Battle of Ojinaga period which was described in the first part of this article (continued).

"A STOP IN THE MARCH!" PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION.

"EL PASO, TEXAS—THE REFUGEES ARRIVE AT EL PASO AND ARE TAKEN TO FORT Bliss, where they are provided with tents and food by the U.S. Government." *Pathé's Weekly,* February 2, 1914.

"SCENES ON THE BORDER—AFTER A MARCH OF FIVE DAYS MEXICAN refugees are safely installed in their camps at Fort Bliss, Texas." *Universal's Animated Weekly,* February 4, 1914.

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"THE STORY OF MATILDE MARTINEZ IS ONE WHICH WILL GO DOWN in history. This woman had volunteered as a *soldadera* of the Federal Army, partly because she wished to follow her husband who was a Huertist lieutenant . . ." Prints and Photographs Division.

In October, President Wilson recognized Carranza; this annoyed Villa and he prepared to attack Agua Prieta which was defended by Plutarco Elías Calles. In order to increase the psychological impact of his triumph on public opinion if he won, he allowed two Pathé cameramen to film him for the news program. His struggle was no longer supported by the U.S. press as it had been a year and a half before. One cameraman was placed with the Carrancistas and the other with the Villistas. Newsreels showed the Villistas on the march without the uniforms and the spectacular manner of earlier times and the Carrancistas marching towards the encounter. They also showed poverty-striken Mexicans fleeing towards the United States; the refugee camp watched over by Uncle Sam's officials; the burial of L. F. Taylor, a U.S. citizen who had been killed by a stray bullet; and the arrival of reinforcements under the command of General Funston to guard the frontier.[9]

The defeat precipitated Villa's downfall and the disintegration of his army. Along with the U.S. government, several of Villa's closest collaborators abandoned him: Gen. Juan N. Medina, who had organized and disciplined his army; Rosalio Hernández and ten other generals who went to the United States; "the Peruvian poet, José Santos Chocano, who had joined with Villa at the beginning of 1914, the Madero brothers and others." Gen. Felipe Angeles had left the Villa camp as far back as September.

> The following objective was Hermosillo, but [Villa] first assured the rear guard and the reinforcements by moving to the supposedly neutral village of Naco . . . . to Cananea and to Nogales. He left some seven thousand men in the first place under the command of José Rodríguez, and in the second ordered Manuel Medinaveytia, from Durango, to go towards Tecoripa. Finally on 21 November he attacked Hermosillo with some ten thousand men and 30 cannons in his usual style. Manuel M. Diéguez's Carrancistas defended themselves from behind the invulnerable adobe walls and then fired shrapnel and the cannons at the Villistas which caused them to flee in disorder to El Alamito. They then continued to La Colorada where Medinaveytia joined them, to Tecoripa and Mazatlán . . . and they finally arrived at Vacadéhuachi.[10]

Villa returned to Chihuahua, accompanied by nearly three thousand men. There he found out that the Carrancistas controlled what had formerly been the center of his domains.[11] From then on, he adopted guerrilla war tactics. For that reason cameramen or journalists had difficulty following his secret movements.

In September 1915, *Hearst-Selig News Pictorial* showed the "Mexican bandits who sacked Texas" being

"MANY DAYS LATER A BEDRAGGLED MEXICAN WOMAN AND FIVE **children, one of them still a toddler, walked into a camp at Juárez, 225 miles from Chihuahua, and asked for help and food."** ***Reel Life,*** **May 16, 1914.**

taken prisoners by the Texas rangers and confined in a military camp; exfederal Nafarrete, who lived in Matamoros, offering his services "to go into the Mexican interior and pursue the bandits who crossed the frontier"; the U.S. soldiers who had captured "the bandits accused of setting fire to a railway bridge"; the arrest of a Mexican held for sharpshooting; and the soldiers who, helped by the rangers, explored "the territory which had been the site of a battle" in Los Indios, Texas. The following month, in October 1915, *Pathé's Weekly* included scenes of the burning "by Mexican bandits" of a railway bridge on the Saint Louis, Missouri-Mexico line. The attackers were accused of killing three people and wounding five; an engineer died at his post.

By January 1916, news broadcasters accused Villa of having ordered the murder of eighteen or nineteen Americans. *Animated Weekly* showed "Carranza's rabble's joy at the order of the bandit's arrest," while the *Selig Tribune* showed the burning of C. R. Watson's body (Watson had been manager of Cusi Mining). This aggression was linked with earlier hostile acts by groups of cattle traffickers who operated in the frontier zone and were attributed to Villa's followers. The same January, *Pathé's Weekly* showed a picture of Villa and notified the public that he had announced his policy of "death to the 'gringos'."

Violence increased on the frontier. J. H. Buffun, a *Pathé's Weekly* employee, was sent to the El Paso area to film the mobilization of the U.S. troops who patrolled the frontier to put a stop to "Mexican bandits crossing it" and the "groups of armed North Americans who enter into Mexico to take vengeance." He also filmed groups of Mexican refugees returning to their country for fear of a vendetta.[12]

THE ATTACK ON COLUMBUS

Villa once again became a fugitive who was subjected to all kinds of insults and lived a hand to mouth existence. Without having proposed to do so, he once more became the defender of the losers. He no longer told his battle plans to journalists, except to give misinformation and sow the seeds of disorder and confusion. The most accurate information which appeared in the papers was of his attacks on settlements or communication lines. The speed of his movements was amazing. No one ever knew where he would attack next. Then the press began to speak of his spectacular attack

THE ROAD OF Sorrow from the Battle of Ojinaga period which was described in the first part of this article (concluded).

"AFTER A BATTLE ON FOOT WITH HER FIVE CHILDREN, MATILDE **Martinez started out into the desert and headed for the north . . ."** ***Reel Life,*** **May 9, 1914.**

on Columbus, New Mexico, and a swarm of cameramen made their way there. A few days before the attack took place, Universal cameraman Fred Granville who had accompanied V. Stefansson's expedition to the Arctic, had made his way towards Villa's camp in the "hostile territory of the Rio Grande" to film a series of films showing "the real conditions of the nation bathed in civil war, but it seems it was impossible for him to contact Villa."[13] In the *U.S. Chases Villa*—a 1960 film produced by Sherman Grinberg and housed in the Library of Congress Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division—the recruitment of men for the attack by the Villista forces can be seen, as can the column of attackers and the men mounting their horses, but it seems that they are scenes from other events used by Grinberg to illustrate his text.

The *Hearst-Vitagraph* news program sent its cameramen after they found out about the attack. The film they offered for sale on April 1 informed the public that the armed incursion was on March 10 and that the film of the results of the massacre would be shown

THE LIFE OF *Villa*, which had presented a flattering view of the general, was reedited and distributed by Mutual Film under the title *The Outlaw's Revenge*. *Moving Picture World*, April 10, 1915.

"The Outlaw's Revenge"

From Bandit to General

The Fifth in the Series of MUTUAL MASTER-PICTURE

THE OUTLAW'S REVEN
is the story of Mexico's fam
rebel chief as pictured in the fi
of the series of Mutual Mast
Pictures.

The life of General Villa
wonderfully and vividly p
trayed among the hills and valle
along the Rio Grande.

Advertised in The

It's a stirring four-reel Reliance production that will draw crowds to your Theatre—

Because—

this Mutual Master-Picture is being advertised in full-pages in The Saturday Evening Post and other magazines to over 10,000,000 readers.

Because—

General Villa is now almost constantly in the public eye, and

Because—

the cast of players, the beautiful scenery and the excellence of the production will bring big business to your house.

Get this picture for your theatre—QUICK.

Released through **THE MUTUAL FILM CORPORATION**

made by

The RELIANCE Motion Picture Corporation

29 Union Square, New York

Saturday Evening Post

BY SEPTEMBER 1916 WILLIAM CHRISTY CABANNE SEEMED RELUCTANT to cite his work on the life of Villa among his screen credits. *Moving Picture World*, September 2, 1916.

BY 1917 RAOUL A. WALSH WAS NOT EAGER TO ADVERTISE THAT HE had played the part of Villa in William Christy Cabanne's film of the general's life. *Moving Picture World*, December 1, 1917.

in the projection room of their New York offices. The Eagle Film Manufacturing and Producing Company of Chicago made it known that W. Kendall Evans, a press photographer, had filmed scenes for the setting of a phonodrama on the Mexican frontier when Villa attacked Columbus and his superiors immediately ordered him to shoot the "interesting and authentic" sequences of "hunting bandits in Mexico" which can be seen in the film *Villa—Dead or Alive*, but the film only showed U.S. troop activities along the frontier. *Following the Flag in Mexico: Villa at any Cost* by the Feature Amusement Corporation of New York began by showing a poster offering $5,000 reward for Villa, dead or alive, and continued with scenes of "Mexican Bandit Bands in Action" and a confrontation between the rebels and federal troops, and finished with scenes of Mexican prisoners and refugees. Inspired, the daily life of the Mexicans, Villa, Generals Funston and Pershing, Colonel Dodd, "our 6th & 10th," and a funeral march across endless mountain trenches. They guaranteed that all the scenes were real.

The Lasonde Company sent Beverly Griffith and Gilbert Warrenton to Mexico to accompany Pershing's punitive expedition and film the impending fighting, in spite of the fact that they had not been given permission by the authorities. They were told "That they would get the photographs or not return to the U.S. Army." They returned to tell the story of their failure—they could not find Villa and had witnessed no fighting. The "action" was conspicuous for its absence. It all seemed like a joke in bad taste. The film companies drove to sheer violent scenes to recall the fighting during Villa's golden days was not fulfilled because Villa fled from confrontation and publicity. Perhaps he preferred the publicity engendered by his surprise attacks, which continued to feed his legend.

THE INVASION OF THE JOURNALISTS

Columbus was invaded overnight by a crowd of journalists, curious spectators, photographers, government agents, troops, and cameramen who had come from New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago. "If there were any words how the words would be full of them. As it is, the desert is alive with them. They overran the military camp, they swarmed over the sur-

A COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO, SCENE FOLLOWING VILLA'S RAID. Newsreel.

sounding country like so many startled rabbits," according to *Moving Picture World*.

If they wanted to cross the frontier they were confronted with so many bureaucratic problems that they preferred to stay in Columbus where the Hoover Hotel with rooms for fifteen guests, proved too small. But somehow or other it managed to help more than 100 people. The Commercial Hotel, with more rooms, had been "burned to the ground by Villa and his bandits." To kill time, the tourists went to the cafe theater at night, where they put up with the two holes in the screen which was large enough for a man to put his fist through, and which had been made by "Villa and his murderous marauders." Food became scarce, and Pathe's cameraman was the object of envy because he ate the last slice of a pie. "The most popular restaurant is no larger than a flat parlor, but it feeds hundreds in relays of ten and twelve, every day." The warning induced the cameramen to film anything.

If a motor man is sighted on the horizon there is a stampede of tripods and leather pattens. If a cavalryhorse stands up on its hind legs there is a fusillade of rapid fire film exposures shot at him. Perhaps one of the numerous pups march sits down on a cactus and lets out a very justifiable yap. Pictures to be recorded for a feverish circle of film makers. No detail is too insignificant to be overlooked.

A few days ago a cowboy dashed down the main street of the town as fast as his pony could gallop, and kept a lariat rolling before him all the way by shooting at it with his gun.

They had to do these things to keep themselves amused for there was neither sight nor sound of Villa."

Moving Picture World commented on the films *Following Villa in Mexico*, a film made by Imperial Film, and *Wars and Wages in Mexico* by Powers. The first highlighted the "desolation of the country into which our soldier boys have ridden in their search for the bandit Villa," the Carranzista soldiers poorly equipped and riding starving horses, and the Mexican refugees in the land of Uncle Sam half dead from hunger and depending on the Americans for food and shelter, like small children. There were scenes in the American troops' barracks in Columbus before and after the attack and "instances of Villa's cruelty, such as the bodies of victims hanging by their necks from the limbs of trees." For the commentator, "the lack of vigor, and of dash

NEWSREEL OF CIVILIANS DESERTING THE VICINITY OF VILLA'S RAIDS on the United States.

nite purpose that has marked the Mexican struggle from first to last" was evident."

The scenes from the film *Stars and Stripes in Mexico* were, above all, about the U.S. troops preparing "to go after the notorious bandit, Villa." There were photo

U.S. SOLDIERS WITH EQUIPMENT ABANDONED BY VILLA. NEWSREEL

graphs of houses destroyed by the attack on Columbus, "of the ignorant young halfbreeds, treacherous and vicious who supported Villa in his murderous campaign" who had been taken prisoner and would be tried. Finally, the trains and the expeditionary forces could be seen, along with planes bombing Mexican territory, the famous black cavalry regiment on the move, "and the American supply base at El Paso, where thousands of tons of supplies and ammunition for the expeditionary force are stored."

HEARST·VITAGRAPH

Hearst-
Vitagraph
Wins Again!

On Friday, March 10th, the front page of every newspaper in the United States carried headlines similar to the above.

On March 14th the motion pictures of the Villa raid on Columbus, New Mexico, were shown in the Hearst-Vitagraph News Pictorial in New York City.

These pictures were made the morning following the massacre and were taken fifty-four hours before any other camera man was on the ground.

THIS HEARST-VITAGRAPH ADVERTISEMENT FOR FILM FOOTAGE OF **Villa's Columbus, New Mexico, raid appeared in *Moving Picture World*, April 1, 1916.**

■

It would seem that only two cameramen were authorized to go with the expeditionary column: L. J. Burrud who worked for Gaumont, a subsidiary of Mutual Film, and who was chosen because he knew General Villa personally;[7] and Tracy Mathewson who had been filming the U.S. troop movements on the Mexican border since 1913 and who went on behalf of *Hearst International News Pictorial*. It was said that he filmed the soldiers in their khaki uniforms as they crossed the frontier "into the land of manana." No important event "escaped the eagle eye" of his camera.[8]

Beverly Griffith and Gilbert Warrenton, Laemmle's cameramen, arrived in Columbus to be added to the ranks of the competition, but they were also forbidden entry into Mexico. As they had made up their minds to go, they bought themselves beasts of burden and contracted helpers and guides who would help them find the punitive expedition. Aware that only authorized cameramen were allowed to film, Warrenton got work as a truck driver and filmed some of the army's manoeuvres from the cab. He was discovered and ordered to destroy the film but he took only the unexposed film out of the camera, keeping the footage he had shot which he sent back to New York. Scenes of the U.S. army's activities in Mexico were included in several news programs. One night he filmed an interview between Generals Obregón and Calles with the help of magnesium lighting. He subsequently went with Calles, who was at that time governor of the state of Sonora, to film the orphans of the revolution being moved by train from Cananea to Hermosillo; then he made his way to Chihuahua where he shot many aspects of the city.[9] Through this coverage and news programs created by *Animated Weekly*, Americans saw the mobilization of troops at the Mexican border and the political measures being taken to solve "the Mexican problem."[10]

They saw the soldiers chosen for the punitive expedition under the command of Pershing, the extremely modern fleet of airplanes which would help in locating the fugitive, the enormous trains which transported additional military equipment, the horses, the arms and the supplies needed for subsistence, and the modern machine guns which had been tested before being put to action "because the dryness of the Chihuahua desert might" make "their delicate mechanism" unusable. They also saw the difficulties encountered in transporting large quantities of heavy equipment across the deserted wilderness of Chihuahua, and which was accomplished by using thousands and thousands of mules; an extremely powerful reflector which was used for the night watch over the frontier; and the black troops of the proud 24th Infantry Regiment as they proved their "skill at being capable fighters for Uncle Sam in this hot climate." They witnessed the constant flow of troops arriving at Columbus to reinforce the frontier posts. It was suggested that elephants be used to transport the machine guns across the Mexican deserts. The Americans got to know the "twenty Apache Indians who had been with Jeronimo in 1886" who were used by Pershing as guides—they were seen receiving "their guns and munitions before heading the cavalry squadrons which set off after Villa."

THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION

Carranza sent forces to collaborate with the punitive expedition that was hunting Villa, and for a time they worked together more or less harmoniously. The *Selig Tribune* included scenes of the Mexican army movements. This joint cooperation came to an end when Pershing penetrated into Mexico beyond his authorized limits. Carranza protested and withdrew his help. In April talks were held in El Paso among representatives of the Mexican and U.S. governments to decide how long the punitive expedition should stay. Generals Funston, Scott, and Obregón met in a railway carriage to try to reach an agreement; although one was reached in principle, Carranza refused to sanction it. The relations between both countries worsened. The Villistas tried to sabotage the talks and made a violent attack on Glen Springs, Texas, where they killed three U.S. soldiers. Obregón simply apologized for the incident. Both countries got ready for war, and Wilson appealed to the nation to find a hundred thousand national guards to go straight to the frontier to "defend the national honor"; inflammatory statements were made on both sides. The 69th Regiment of the New York National Guard was one of the first to respond to the presidential call and paraded proudly down Fifth Avenue the day it left for the frontier and perhaps for the Mexican interior.

RED HOT FROM THE FRONT!

"Villa–Dead or Alive"

(Name Reg. U. S. Pat. Office 1916)

WEEKLY RELEASES

First Release - - - One Reel

Now Ready to Ship

It's a Corker

We have prepared some wonderful paper

One and Three Sheets

TELEGRAPH QUICKLY!
How many prints you can use

Released in single and double reels as soon as received from the front.

We happened to have a company looking for "atmosphere" along the border when Villa attacked Columbus. We decided to back the daring press photographer, W. Kendall Evans in securing these interesting and authentic pictures of hunting bandits in Mexico.

We stand behind these pictures and have placed our enormous plant at Jacksonville, Florida, and our organization throughout the country behind his efforts.

Knowing the public will want to see these pictures as quickly as possible, we have decided to sell the pictures to first come first served customers throughout the country.

We own the negative (the name is registered) and can offer you every protection.

EAGLE FILM MFG. & PRODUCING CO.

CHICAGO, ILLS. **JACKSONVILLE, FLA.**

These Films Will Be Distributed by

THE GEO. A. MAGIE DISTRIBUTING CO., 308 Mallers Bldg., CHICAGO, ILLS.

NOTE THE NEGATIVE REPRESENTATION OF VILLA ON FILM IN "VILLA–*Dead or Alive*" after he fell from grace with the U.S. public and government. *Moving Picture World*, April 8, 1916.

"VILLA-DEAD OR ALIVE"

(Name Reg. U. S. Pat. Office 1916)

Eagle

Film Manufacturing and Producing Co.

CHICAGO

TO THE TRADE:

We have received from W. Kendall Evans in Mexico some 4,000 feet of scenes of activities with the United States troops along the Mexican Border and in Mexico. After putting it on the screen we are not satisfied with its "amusement value".

As a matter of fact nothing of a sensational character has as yet happened in Mexico, nothing to thrill an audience - nothing to make either of us a reputation.

Every day both shipments and telegrams from Mr. Evans promised better results and we have delayed hoping to get you something really worth while.

We have been too long in the business to try to fool the public with mediocre pictures. We would far rather lose all the money that we have spent in sending Mr. Evans to Mexico than to release to you anything that is not creditable and worth while.

We have received hundreds of letters and telegrams asking about these pictures and we ask you to be a little patient.

In order to secure quick distribution we propose selling these pictures for cash, shipping 1,000 to 2,000 feet weekly releases in serial form as they are received. We will fix the price per foot as soon as they are made up and their value determined. Please accept our assurance that whatever we ship you will be worth what we ask for it.

Yours very truly,

EAGLE FILM MFG. & PRODUCING CO.

Thos. F. Fleming

TF.MJG

These Films Will Be Distributed by

THE GEO. A. MAGIE DISTRIBUTING CO., 308 Mallers Bldg., CHICAGO, Ill.

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE EAGLE COMPANY WAS PREMATURE IN ITS offers of interesting footage from Mexico. The most exciting thing about *"Villa—Dead or Alive"* may have been the title, despite photographer W. Kendall Evans's efforts. *Moving Picture World*, April 15, 1916.

The increase in the number of troops at the frontier and the state of war increased the hostile feelings of the Mexicans towards the Americans, and the cameramen suffered as a result. Those who went to Mexico believing they would encounter no obstacles were mistaken, and more than one of them was almost lynched by angered Mexicans whose pride in their country had been wounded.

Edward Sloman tried to film the setting for his five-reel film *Reclamation* and penetrated twenty miles into Mexican territory but was sent running back by furious and "dirty" Mexicans who ran after him as if they were hunting him.[7]

The owners of the movie houses in frontier towns complained that the Mexicans no longer went to the cinema "for racial reasons." Some of the owners shut down, and others opened only two nights a week; they were convinced that they would all have to close down completely within a few days.[8]

A. W. Pluto, a salesman for the Dallas branch of V.L.S.E. made his way from Del Rio to Eagle Pass by car together with some friends. They stopped in Quemado to have lunch when some "Mexican bandits" showered gun shots upon them. They ran to their car and there was no doubt that if the driver had not remained in his seat they would not have lived to tell the tale.[9]

There was a scuffle and some Mexicans were killed and wounded. It was said that Villa was among the dead. Burrud, who knew his face "even with his eyes closed" was called upon to identify him:

> The appearance of the American photographer and his camera started a violent demonstration. He was pelted with decayed vegetables and other missiles, and hooted through the streets. One of his party had an ankle badly injured by a flying stone. All is grist, however, that comes before a motion picture camera, and Burrud [took advantage of the] opportunity by securing some very spirited scenes, barely escaping from the mob with his life and his films. As all the world knows, he was able to decide that the dead man was not Villa.[10]

Burrud and Mathewson resigned themselves to shooting Pershing's column's pilgrimage through the Mexican deserts, the daily life of the troops, and scenes of poverty in the villages through which they passed.

Towards the end of 1916, the expedition's failure and the peace talks in Atlantic City contributed to a decrease of tension along the frontier. Tracy Mathewson mentioned little about the punitive expedition's failure. Perhaps this was due to the fact that in 1917, when he wrote his account, Pershing was commanding the U.S. army in Europe.

During the three years (1913-1916) that Mathewson went from one end of the frontier to the other hoping to film something worthwhile, he dragged his cinematographic equipment uselessly along the hazy deserts with their enormous cacti, and with no positive results crossed rivers and mountains looking for "action." He always missed it. The guerilla war tactics disconcerted him, as they did the military:

> I was at Norias just six hours after that gallant little band of eight cavalrymen and five citizens had held off and finally whipped a band of eighty five Mexican bandits. I arrived in a cloud of dust at the old illegal ferry at Progreso, where Lieutenant Henry was wounded and Corporal Whelman was killed. I galloped into Los Indios just two hours after the treacherous attack on the little outpost of cavalrymen. It was at Los Indios, you may recall, that Private Kraft added a brilliant paragraph to the army's history and with it gave his life.[11]

He joined the Second Punitive Expedition under the command of Colonel Sibley of the 140th Cavalry Regiment and of Major Lanhorne of the 8th but with the same results. To punish the incursions at Boquillas and Glen Springs two detachments were sent out along two different routes. He went with the second uselessly, because they lost the tracks and the soldiers had to return empty handed. Mathewson carried his equipment on his shoulder and at first it did not bother him, but later the pain produced by the straps which dug into his skin was like torture. Then to cap it all, on his return he saw the first detachment returning with carts containing recovered booty and driven by U.S. soldiers who were wearing Mexican hats belonging to the wounded lying in the carts, an unequivocal sign of the "action" Mathewson had missed. One of the "Mexican bandits" had been shot with seven bullets. The cameraman resigned himself to shooting the picturesque caravan of beautiful Mexican saddled horses, each of which carried a powerful 30-30 rifle.

Days later, a friend informed Mathewson in a telegram of the attack by Chico Canoa in the Big Bend region. He got a car and an extremely experienced driver who was able to drive them across the roadless desert by night:

> We burned up the desert miles, keeping the great dipper and its sentry, the North star, to our backs, I hoping and praying that nothing would happen to the motor to prevent the fulfillment of my engagement with the troopers . . . All night we rode. Our headlights were thrown on bunches of cattle, huddled together for warmth. We ran around longeared *burros*, who were always too interested in their midnight frolics to turn out for us. We sped by abandoned ranch houses. Occasionally, from under fullblossomed Spanish bayonet plants, a big eyed, long eared jack rabbit would scurry and fly across the desert—probably to gossip with the gophers and prairie-dogs about the thing he had seen flash by with eyes like two suns.

They found the soldiers at dawn. He ordered the driver to go back in the car while he mounted a horse and left with the troops "after a pack of the most desperate bandits that ever rustled cattle along the border." They crossed mountain paths, advanced single file along steep slopes with deep ravines below them. He saw the most beautiful scenery of his life but did

NOW READY

No waits nor delays, for OUR cameramen have been through the thick of it and have come back with the **REAL GOODS.**

We consider this positively the greatest Mexican War Picture ever produced, and we call it

"FOLLOWING THE FLAG IN MEXICO"

VILLA AT ANY COST

$20,000 Reward, Dead or Alive,
The Mexican Bandit Bands in Action
Federal and Rebel Troops in Action,
Mexican Prisoners and Refugees,
The Dead, Dying and Wounded,
Hospital Scenes, Treating the Wounded,
Mexican Life in every phase and condition,
Showing graphically what our OWN BOYS have to contend with as
Uncle Sam places his mighty heel of Military Efficiency
On the Serpent's Head—Villa.
Gen. Funston and Pershing on the Border,
Col. Dodd and our own boys on the March.
The cruel Mexican Desert of Fever by day and chill by night,
The hardships of a forced march across the endless stretches
Of sand and mountains, and waterless wastes,

Portrayed with a vividness unusual even in this day of perfect pictures.

WE REPEAT

We have no apologies to make, for our film will stand the acid test of public approval, both as to action and photography.

THE TRUTH

may SHOCK and the actual facts ASTOUND but the truth WILL OUT and it's high time that the American Public know the real facts of the horrible conditions on our Southern border.

We have faithfully recorded the actual happenings as they were. We have made no attempt or effort to "dress" down the truth. Every scene is a REAL scene. **NO POSED PICTURES.** Let the blame for conditions fall where it may. Let the remedy be what it may, we have told the truth.

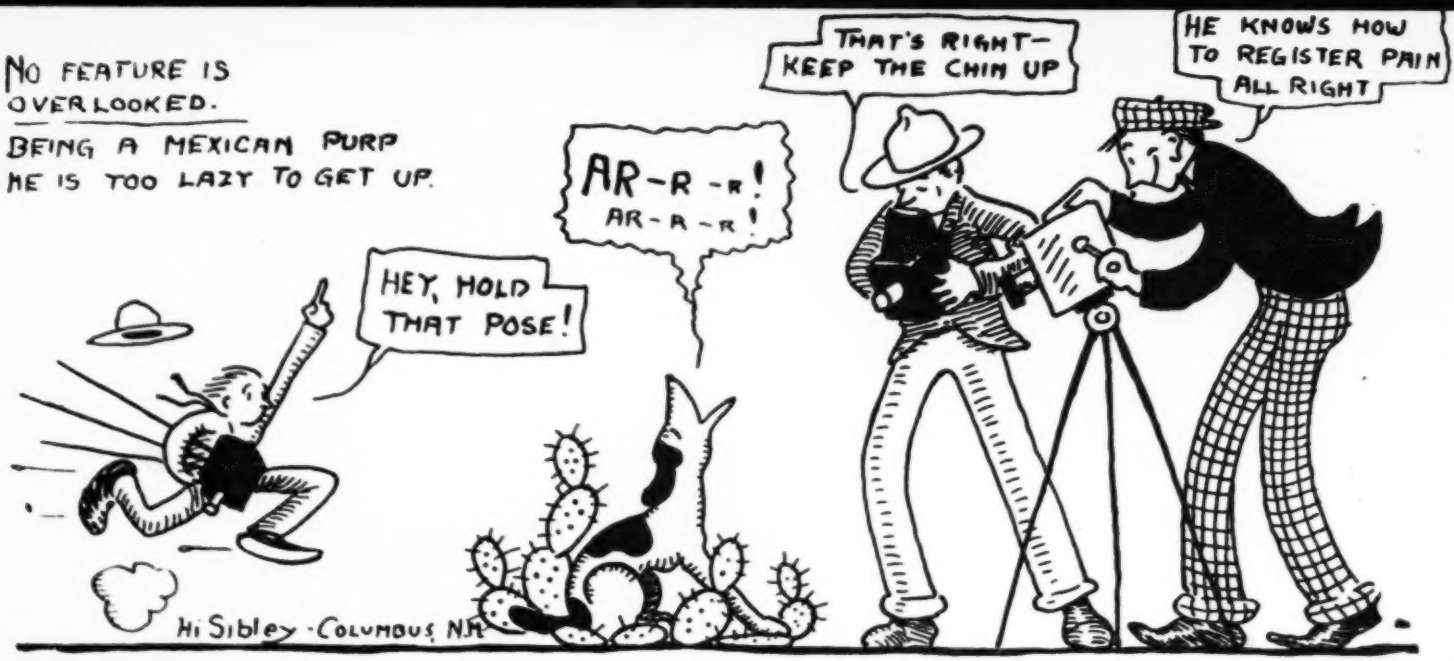
WE PREDICT—

That while the truth may hurt, our pictures will ASTOUND and STUPEFY the spectator.

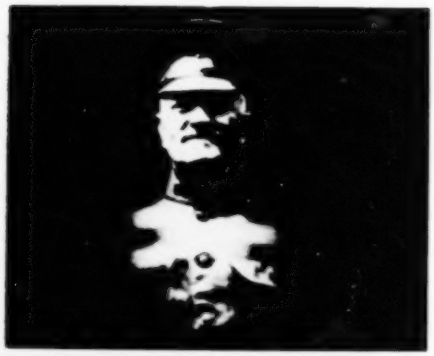
DISPOSING OF STATE-RIGHTS
ATTRACTIVE LINE OF PAPER

FEINBERG AMUSEMENT CORPORATION
1482 Broadway **New York City**

"FOLLOWING THE FLAG IN MEXICO" APPEARS TO HAVE PROVIDED SOME ACTION FOOTAGE AND IMAGES OF NOTEWORTHY PARTICIPANTS IN the punitive expedition, such as Generals Pershing and Funston. *Moving Picture World*, April 15, 1916.

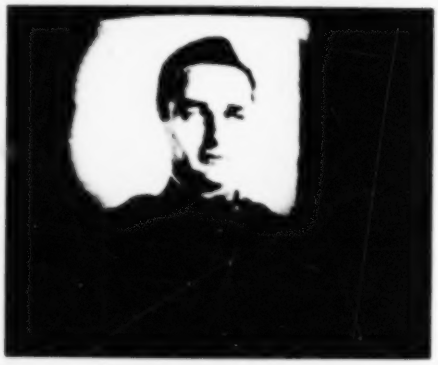

NO FEATURE IS OVERLOOKED.
BEING A MEXICAN PURP HE IS TOO LAZY TO GET UP.
HEY, HOLD THAT POSE!
AR-R-R!
AR-A-R!
THAT'S RIGHT— KEEP THE CHIN UP
HE KNOWS HOW TO REGISTER PAIN ALL RIGHT
Hi Sibley - Columbus N.M.

ACCORDING TO *MOVING PICTURE WORLD* REPORTS, **the U.S. cameramen in Columbus, New Mexico, were so desperate for action to shoot that "if one of the numerous purps merely sits down on a cactus and lets out a yip, he is surrounded by filmmakers," as this May 13, 1916, cartoon illustrates.**



GENERAL PERSHING, IN COMMAND OF THE U.S. **forces in Mexico. Newsreel.**

GENERAL FUNSTON, WHO ALONG WITH GENERAL **Pershing was in charge of the punitive expedition to Mexico after the border raids by Villa.**



COLONEL DODD, COMMANDER OF THE U.S. **cavalry in pursuit of Villa.**

147

U.S. OFFICERS ON HOUSE TOPS IN COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO, viewing operations across the border (newsreel), and Uncle Sam reaching across the border to bring back Villa and crush him (from *The Long Arm of Law and Order,* C. R. Bray, cartoonist, Paramount Pictographs, in *Moving Picture World,* April 22, 1916).

"CARRANZA SENT forces to collaborate with the punitive expedition that was hunting Villa. For a time they worked together more or less harmoniously." Prints and Photographs Division.

not film it as he wanted to keep the film to shoot the longed for "action." They finally caught sight of the "bandits." Almost fifty of them were camped in a small poplar wood. The horses and stolen cattle were found in a corral. The officers decided to split the troopers into two columns and attack at dawn. Mathewson joined the second column. Early the following morning, the sound of the bugle was heard, and the action began. Our cameraman was happy to be able to turn the camera's crank:

> "Give 'em hell, boys" I shouted, and all the oaths I had ever learned came back to me . . . I snatched up my camera—how feathery light it was—and went forward with our rifles. I timed my cursing to the turn of the handle and it was very smooth.
>
> "Action" I cried. "This is what I've wanted. Give 'em hell, boys. Wipe out the blinkety, blank, dashed greasers."
>
> All the oaths that men use were at my tongue's end. I was in the midst of it. I learned the whistle of a bullet. They tore up little jets of sands all around me. All the time I turned the crank. One greaser made a rush for my camera. As he swung his gun, someone shot over my shoulder. The greaser threw his hands high over his head and fell on his face.
>
> "It's action" I shouted.
>
> "Next time let go that handle and duck", called Sergeant Noyes, as he passed me. "I was lucky to get him. They think that thing is a machine gun, I guess."
>
> "To hell with them" I cried. "Let 'em come and die in front of my camera. It's action."

And the battle continued. There were dead and wounded. Sergeant Noyes fell in front of the camera, with a bullet through his forehead. The troops herded the Mexicans into a ravine:

> "Action" I cried, as our boys cut them down.

"THROUGH . . . NEWS PROGRAMS, THE AMERICANS SAW SCENES OF THE MOBILIZATION OF the troops . . ." Prints and Photographs Division.

Then somewhere out of that tangle of guns a bullet cut its way.

"Zz-zing"

I heard it whistle. The splinters cut my face as it hit the camera. It ripped the side in and smashed the little wooden magazine.

I sprang crazily to stop it with my hands. But out of the box uncoiled the precious film. Stretching and glistening in the sun, it fell and died. I stood and watched it dumbly.

Some time later, they found me sprawled face downward under the tripod. They thought I had been killed, until they heard me sob. And then they knew it was only that my heart was broken."

The difficulties in filming Villa continued. The cameramen pursued him but he invariably escaped.

VILLA RETIRES

Finally, tired and defeated, in 1920 Villa gave himself up to Adolfo de la Huerta, the interim president after the assassination of Carranza, and retired to private life on a *hacienda* in Canutillo, but the cameramen found him there. They returned to their own country frustrated, however, because Villa was not the same as before. His exhibitionism had turned into withdrawal and he shunned all publicity.

Fox News asked C. J. Kaho to film Villa in his retirement doing whatever he might be doing. The cameraman made the most of the opportunity that arose when Villa received a tractor he had bought from a Cleveland company. Kaho convinced the company to let him pass as a photographer sent to film the machine at work as publicity for the company. He made his way to Canutillo with a mechanic. A pair of Villista guards were waiting for them at the frontier and would not leave them alone, not even to eat. At the end of their railroad journey they were picked up in Rosario by Villa's car and driven to Canutillo.

On their arrival, the caudillo was nowhere to be seen. The cameraman filmed various aspects of the estate, including the splendid tomb built for the general and the monument erected to the memory of the soldiers who had fought against Pershing. The guards were ever present and nothing escaped them:

> At last the tractor was started, and Villa came out to the wheat field to see it in operation. This was the moment the photographer had been waiting for. Now or never. Kaho began cranking away, making out as if the only thing in the world that interested him was the binder, but, ready to pan over to the general. The general was coming up behind the binder, but he was too far behind. Kaho ordered the driver of the tractor to stop, and that was where he made his big mistake. With that the general began to blink and asked, how come. No one on that ranch ever gave orders except himself. The tractor was started, and with his heart in his mouth Kaho panned over and began shooting the general. With that the guard who had never believed that all was right with the world piped up, and in a moment the general had yanked the camera open.

Villa ordered the film to be removed. The guard snatched the camera and gave it to the general who pulled out the film. He remained distrustful until he set fire to it

[illegible] Prints and Photographs Division.

[illegible] indicate that cameramen [illegible] Burrud and Matheson assigned themselves to shooting Harding's Column's pilgrimage through the Mexican deserts [illegible] Prints and Photographs Division.

CHILDREN REVIEWING THE 69TH REGIMENT OF THE NEW YORK National Guard, one of the first military units to respond to President Wilson's call for volunteers to defend the U.S. border from Villa's raids. Prints and Photographs Division.

TO MEXICO. PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION.

with a match. "In a moment it was all about him, and back he staggered, gasping and sputtering, his mouth like a mere smoking fragment of its former glory."

The cameraman was locked up and put under twenty-four-hour surveillance until the mechanic finished his work. Kahn and the mechanic were taken to the border where the camera was returned. Otho felt and found Kahn opened the receiver drawer and there was the film intact. Villa had only destroyed the spare film in the supply drawer. There were perhaps the only scenes of Villa shot by a U.S. cameraman in Camarillo as Villa was murdered two years later.

A thrilling story of a lifetime ambition realized, told by a born chronicler of border warfare.

"ACTION!"

HOW A GIRL OF EIGHTEEN SEES HER DREAMS, AND WHAT HAPPENS THEN

By Tracy Mathewson

TRACY MATHEWSON WAS ONE OF THE TWO CAMERAMEN AUTHORIZED to go with the expeditionary column to Mexico. He had been filming U.S. troop movements on the border since 1913 and worked for *Hearst-International News Pictorial*. Here we see two samples of his work—an account of General Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico (*Photoplay*, March 1917), and Troops 9 and 10, U.S. Cavalry, breaking camp in Mexico (*Moving Picture World*, July 8, 1916).

frame enlargement used in the article

The discovery of the photographs upon which this paper and the one which appeared in the 1980 *Journal* are based was quite accidental. While I was doing some newspaper research at the Library of Congress, I also went to the Prints and Photographs Division where I found numerous images of the Mexican Revolution with no precise information on them as to the date and circumstances of their creation. I assumed that the most they were taken was 1913, that the photographs were made by Mutual Film, and that the events depicted were those I was investigating. I selected some of the photos because they clearly belonged to the film company others I chose simply because I liked them. After returning to Mexico I continued trying to identify the photographs and it resulted that in the majority they were of Obregon. I reconstructed the journey of the march of the Obregon refugees, civil and military, from Piedras to Martes and from Martes to Fort Bliss on the basis of Mexican and U.S. newspapers from the period and the photographs themselves. Some geographic evidence and the people's apparel. Fortunately, my reconstruction turned out to be 100 percent correct, which I corroborated later when I met Charles Prior, who materials on the fall of Obregon which were recently discovered by the American Film Institute, where they are being catalogued. The photographs I studied came from the following sources: a collection donated to the Library of Congress in 1952 by the heirs of Jack Hugh Jones Scott, who knew Villa; Mutual Films 1914 copyright deposits; and a collection the Library of Congress purchased in 1948 of the photographs files of New York's Rare News Service. My research is also based upon Francis A. Collins's book *The Camera Man* as well as various publications dating from January to May of 1914: the *New York Times*, the *New York Sun*, *Red Cross Magazine*, *Moving Picture World*, and others.

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Most of the known pictures discussed or illustrated in this article de-

ON THE TRAIL OF THE BANDIT VILLA

"Good bye Dolly, I must leave you."
Soldiers leaving El Paso, Texas for the front

SCENES AND INTERTITLES FROM *ON THE TRAIL OF the Bandit Villa*.

ON THE TRAIL OF THE BANDIT VILLA

Off to the Front at Last.
After being on border duty for the past two years our boys in blue are ordered into action.
This troop train is leaving for Nogales.

not exist in an complete form today. The American Film Institute recently acquired the rush of film comprising segments from these productions. Preservation copies have been made and are located in the Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division of the Library and the National Archives and Records Service. The rushes originals have been given to a film archive in Mexico. Close analysis of this collection will have to be made.

[illegible] was born in 1947 in the Mexican city of Aguascalientes. For economic reasons, in 1949 he and his family moved to a ranch near Ensenada in the state of Zacatecas. In 1957, they moved to Mexico City.

In 1972 he received his degree in Mexican history from the University of Wisconsin based upon his thesis, [illegible] in Mexico, 1900-1940, which was published by the university in the same year. He revised it in 1981 and 1984. In 1974 he mounted a major exhibit at the university on rights-reserved films in Mexico, which is the title of his second book. In 1980 he was awarded a doctorate in Mexican history for [illegible] in Mexico, 1900-1930. He revised and expanded it in 1981, when it was published jointly by the university and the Comisión Nacional it was revised in 1983.

In 1983 the university published Dr. [illegible] in Mexico, [illegible] upon which these articles are based. His next book will be on silent film in Mexico from 1930 to 1940.

Dr. [illegible] has also been involved in the cinematographic investigations of [illegible] in the recent volumes of [illegible] in Mexico, [illegible] written by various authors, edited by the College of Mexico and of [illegible] of Mexico Project Staff. Dr. [illegible] is also working toward a second doctorate, in literature, and is currently on the staff of the Institute de Investigaciones Estéticas of the University of Mexico.

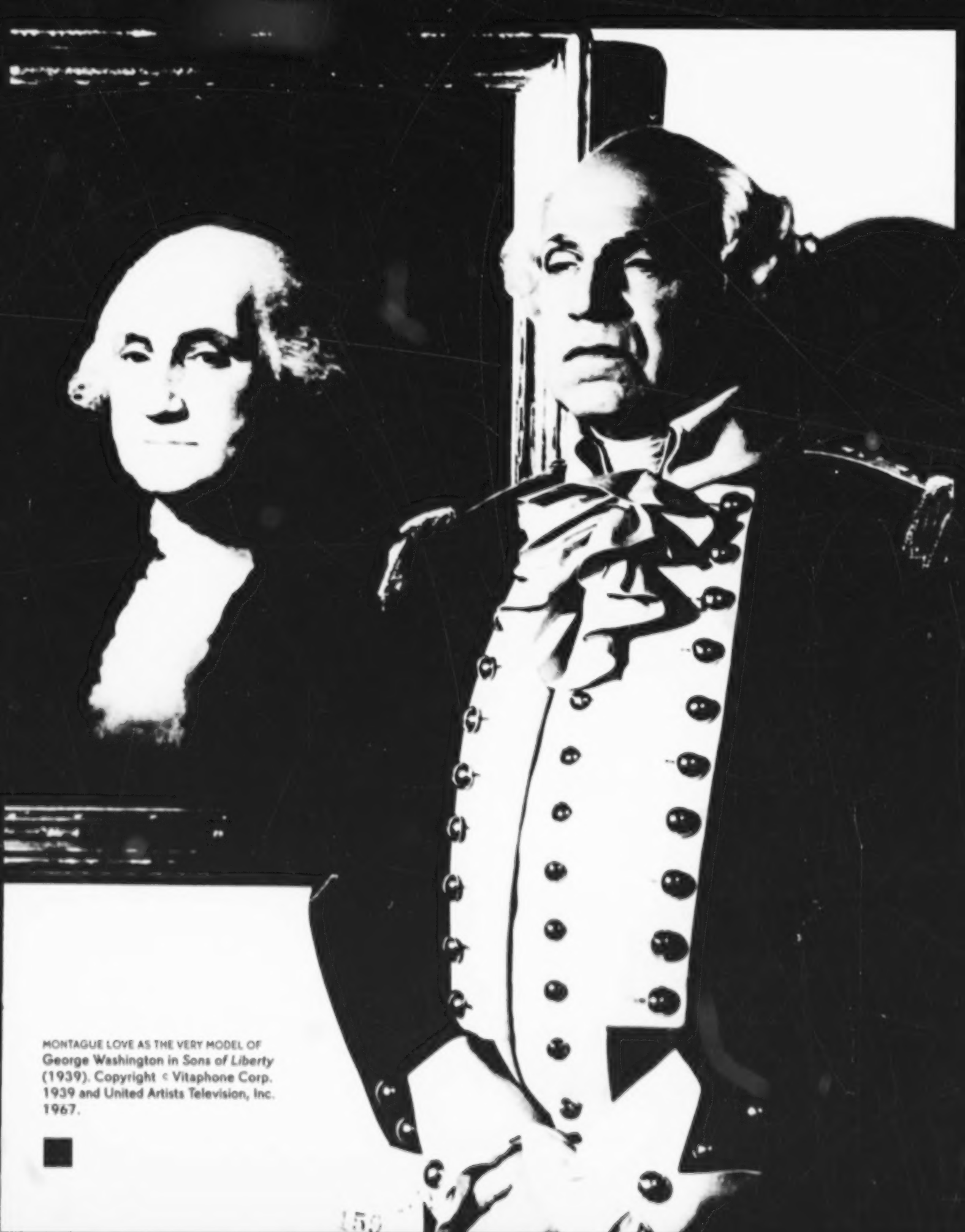
ALL THE PRESIDENTS' MOVIES

BY KAREN JAEHNE

BEFORE THE SILVER SCREEN PUT AN ACTOR in the White House, the White House—or the fascination with its occupants—put several presidential protagonists on display at the movies or in miniseries. Although the Golden Age of Cinema saluted many statesmen in what the film industry calls "prexy biopix," in recent years the format has changed to a longer, ostensibly more comprehensive form for sequential television viewing. The characteristics of the genre have, in fact, changed very little; they have merely acquired a layer of soap opera psychology in order to lure history buffs to tune in again to popularized psychology-history.

The terms *Hollywood* and *history* might seem incompatible, yet a faith in the power of the camera to represent reality and in the film artists themselves to delve behind mere documentation and interpret that reality has encouraged filmmakers to play the role of popular historian with a wavering devotion to credibility. Indeed, plausibility often becomes the problem, as it does with politicians, thereby engendering delightful ironies. When Woodrow Wilson reportedly said of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), "It's like writing history with lightning," it was possibly the historian in him who was speaking. Or perhaps it was the president in him who feared being burned by that same lightning—a not unfounded anxiety.

Before the movies learned to speak, much less to orate, presidential portraiture seems to have been a fairly common feature of films, evidence of which can be found in the incomparable Paper Print Collection in the Library of Congress. A paper print was a reproduction of a celluloid strip from a film printed as frame-by-frame photographs of images from the movie, used as copyright deposits. On such paper prints as the 1911 *His Clemency*, Abraham Lincoln paces the White House Library and ponders an appeal from

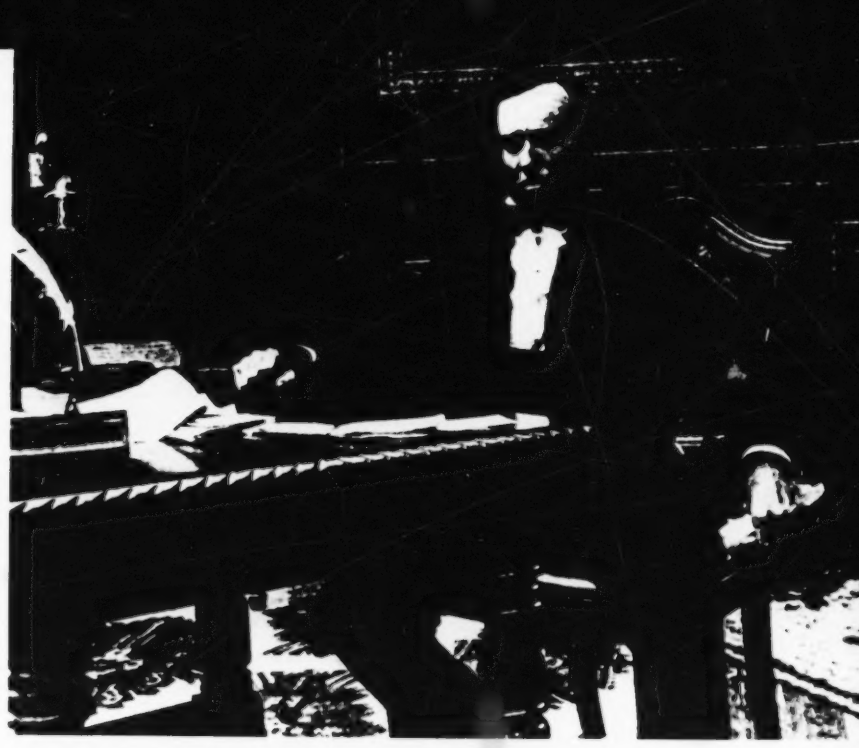


MONTAGUE LOVE AS THE VERY MODEL OF George Washington in *Sons of Liberty* (1939). Copyright © Vitaphone Corp. 1939 and United Artists Television, Inc. 1967.

OF THE ACTORS WHO ACHIEVED THE LOOK OF having been cast from the same mold, Raymond Massey excelled as Lincoln. Here we see him in the screen version of Robert E. Sherwood's Pulitzer prize-winning play, *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*. Copyright © RKO General Corporation 1939.

a mother for her courtmartialed son. Such clemency has been discouraged by Secretary Stanton, who fears the breakdown in discipline which could result from such a decision. Yet Lincoln argues, "I need live soldiers more than dead ones." A still of the soldier, one Will Scott, shows him kissing the hem of Lincoln's coat beneath the extended hand of presidential benediction. Here one finds the image of Lincoln as savior that made him, rather than the founding fathers, the archetypal president to which all others aspire.

The most famous American silent, D. W. Griffith's redoubtable *Birth of a Nation*, was possibly the first film to be taken seriously by educated audiences. Made to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War, its portrayal of Abraham Lincoln became the bedrock upon which a legendary Lincoln was developed to



IN *HIS CLEMENCY* (1911) ABRAHAM LINCOLN PONDERS AN APPEAL from a mother for her court-martialed son and then grants it.

the point of apotheosis. He is referred to as the "Great Heart" and again is shown granting a pardon from execution. The scene, incorporated within this somewhat racist film, shows Lincoln as the only hope for preserving the nation and his assassination as the destruction of forgiveness.

The solemn suffering of Lincoln was portrayed by actor Joseph Henabery, who was the first of a long line of actors who would report on their experience recreating presidents. "I had read many books about him, and I knew his physical characteristics, his habits, and everything else." Like many classical actors, Henabery insisted on a verisimilitude that required his knees being propped up by boards in a document signing scene typical of historical "quill-pen flicks," as they became known.

DONALD MOFFAT AS VICE-PRES. LYNDON B. JOHNSON IN *THE RIGHT STUFF*. COPYRIGHT © The Ladd Company 1983.

Abraham Lincoln has the dubious distinction of having been portrayed more often than any other president, although his memorial often serves as a stand-in, a virtual altar to presidential dignity, authority, and statesmanship. Who can forget the classic Hollywood scene of the politico Mr. Smith in Washington rediscovering his motivation for being there as he reviews the truths we hold to be self-evident at the knee of the Lincoln statue? Goldie Hawn recapped it in the 1984 *Protocol*, recapitulating the Capra corn of the original 1939 *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. Inevitably, it is Lincoln who is used to rally the rabble, to remember the *Maine*. In a recent subversion of the genre, *Secret Honor*, Richard Nixon is made to say, "I always wanted to grow up to be Abraham Lincoln."

Nixon may have been identifying with the man from the play *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* by Robert E. Sherwood, which opened in 1938 and reputedly inspired two biopix that focus on the common virtues and uncommon circumstances which conspired to put Lincoln in the White House. Carl Sandberg's *The Prairie Years* in 1926 had been the predecessor of these paeans. Sherwood adapted his own play for film director John Cromwell and producer Max Gordon, who would take more than a year to get their product into the theaters, while Darryl F. Zanuck and Kenneth Macgowen scooped them with Twentieth Century-Fox's mythic *Young Mr. Lincoln*, directed by John Ford. Ford's version has become an over-analyzed *locus classicus* for European structuralist film critics more interested in the dynamics of mythology than in Henry Fonda's interpretation of the self-effacing but preordained leader of the title

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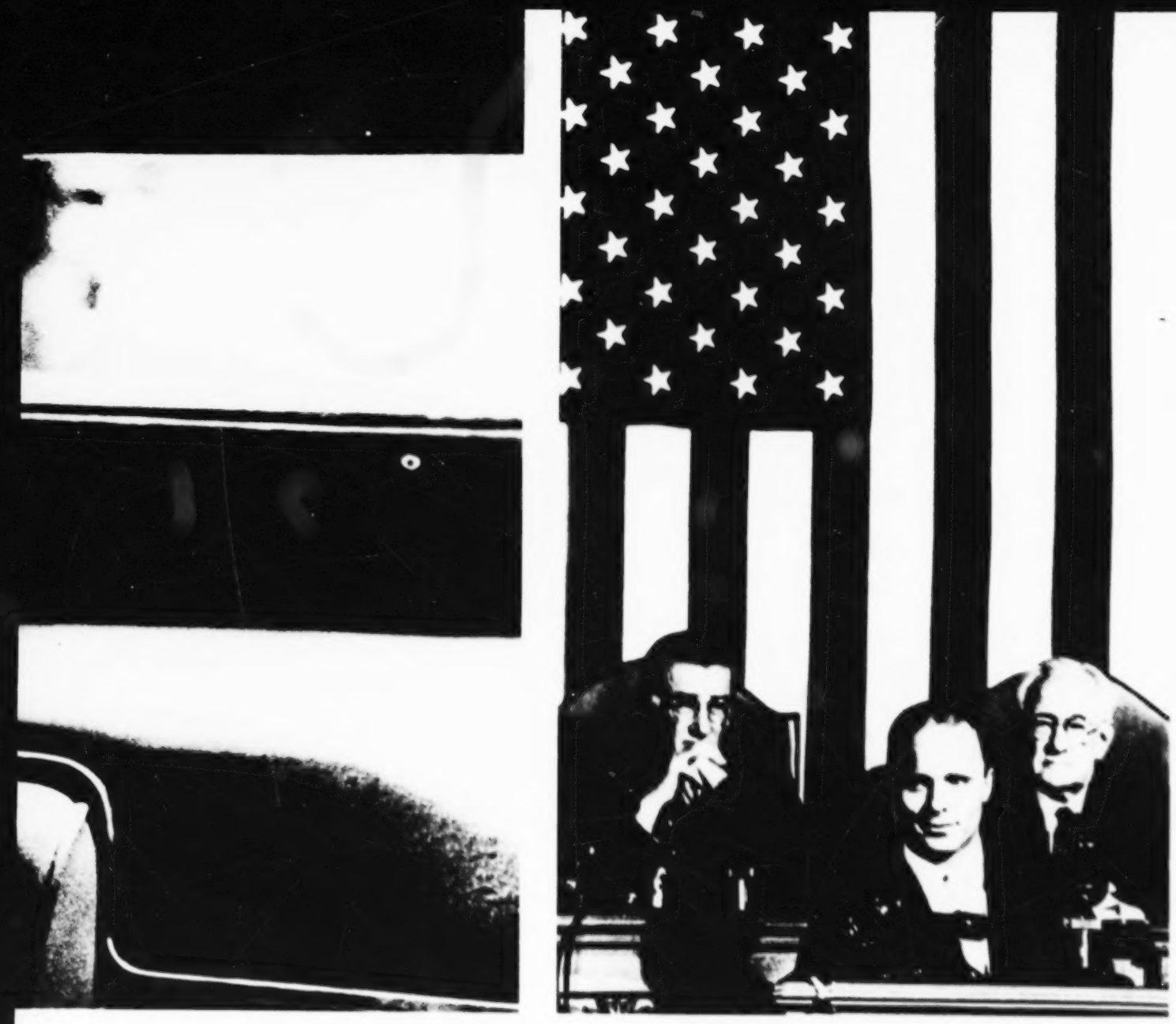


JOHN GLENN (ED HARRIS) SPEAKS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES after successfully orbiting the earth three times in *The Right Stuff*. Behind him are the vice-president (Donald Moffat) and the Speaker of the House (Jim Hendricksen). Copyright © The Ladd Company 1983.

role. The young man pines at the grave of Ann Rutledge in *tableau vivant* style or, upon finding a volume of Blackstone in a barrel, decides to study law. This idea of Lincoln had progressed little from the schematics of the silent cinema, although more detailed slivers of his life contribute to our understanding of why he has become so wooden.

Raymond Massey's awkward but sympathetic portrayal of Lincoln, a man tortured but obedient to his fate, was an accomplished piece of acting that obscured the schematic oppositions of Nature versus Culture by reducing the man's governmental achievements to minor incidents in the life of a provincial messiah. Ann Rutledge is made to say, "This is the man we've been waiting for." When the New Salem townfolk draft Lincoln to tabulate votes, he takes the oath of office as the camera angle adopts the classical three-quarter profile of inaugural portraits. Cinematography replaces psychology, as the Canadian Massey immerges himself in the character of the pioneering American innocent with an "aw shucks" sense of humor, a far more differentiated portrait than that of Fonda, who seems rather washed ashore on an isle of greatness. Massey would repeat his performance on radio and television in Norman Corwin's play *The Rivalry* and briefly in *How the West Was Won* (1963).

Seldom has subsequent presidential portraiture on film approached the standard set by the classical biographies of Lincoln. Certainly in the films made since

DUSTIN HOFFMAN AS CARL BERNSTEIN AND ROBERT REDFORD AS Bob Woodward in *All the President's Men* (1976). This film was so much about the presidency that it needed no president.

the debacle of Watergate presidents have emerged "warts and all." On the comeback of presidential figures, Richard M. Nixon was never deemed worth recovering until quite recently, although the caricatures of him stench through several films, some of them "entertainment" films compiled from documentary footage, such as Emile de Antonio's *Millhouse: A White Comedy*, which manipulates the footage of Nixon's career in order to illustrate how he himself manipulated the media. A little-known production was Woody Allen's half hour comedy for PBS, in which he projected himself as a presidential adviser to Nixon in a thinly disguised version of Kissinger (a finger exercise for *Zelig*), but PBS has never aired it. Since the overt documentary appeal encourages the audience to believe what they see, these stylistically innovative films are of great interest in the study of how genres can be subverted.

Probably the most extreme case of subversion is the recent presidential biography *Secret Honor* by Robert Altman, in which Philip Baker Hall delivers an eighty-five-minute monologue as a "fictional meditation" in the absurdist tradition of Samuel Beckett's *Krapp's Last Tape* which is reminiscent of all the scandalous tales about Nixon's last hours in office. Its psychological realism about the pressures brought to bear on the president proposes that Nixon engineered Watergate in order to preserve his "secret honor" rather than follow the dictates of the Committee of 100. With a revolver on his desk, Nixon seems to contemplate suicide but prefers the narcissism of his own reflection in the video monitors decorating the Oval Office. The film offers such an in-depth profile of manic psychosis that the effect is to absolve Nixon of whatever resentment remains about his having dishonored the office.

What is remarkable about the film is that it comes from the same director who made *Buffalo Bill and the Indians or Sitting Bull's History Lesson* in 1976, when it won the Golden Bear for Best Film at the 1976 Berlin Film Festival much to the chagrin of State Department officials then anticipating more positive portrayals of the United States during the bicentennial. In this black comic western about how Wild Bill Cody (Paul Newman) marketed himself as Buffalo Bill in a stake with Sitting Bull, the "history lesson" occurs when Pres. Grover Cleveland (Pat McCormick) and the First Lady (Shelley Duvall) attend and are subjected to a dreadfully warbled version of the national anthem, introduced as Buffalo Bill's favorite song. A stupendous scene ensues in which Sitting Bull is tortured as audience with Cleveland, who explains, "I'm only Uncle Father four years at a time . . . and having a Republican Congress." Sitting Bull is dismissed and Cody praises the president's style with, "The difference between presidents and chiefs in a situation like this is a president knows enough to straddle before it's his turn."

Similar in tone is the contribution of Tom Wolfe and Philip Kaufman with *The Right Stuff*. Their portrayal of the American space program and its astronauts makes of Vice Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson an opportunist and of Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower an indifferent dullard. In a comical scene about exploitation of the astronauts, Lyndon Johnson (Donald Moffat) sits in a limousine, waiting for an audience on television camera with Mrs. John Glenn, who adamantly

RALPH BELLAMY AS FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND GREER GARSON AS his wife Eleanor in *Sunrise at Campobello* (1960). Copyright © Warner Brothers (1960)

BRIAN KEITH AS THEODORE Roosevelt in *The Wind and the Lion* (1975). Copyright © Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. 1975.

EILEEN QUINN AS THE WARD OF Daddy Warbucks (Albert Finney), not only gets to visit the White House in *Annie* (1982), but also leads President Roosevelt (Edward Herrmann) and his wife Eleanor (Lois DeBancie) in singing "Tomorrow." Copyright © Columbia Pictures Industries 1982.

Harvey Oswald shot JFK is a ballistic impossibility." Thus, the film begins with the much-exposed assassination, "which overlooks sins to be exploring," admits Goddard, "and to some extent it's true." The subsequent scenes flash back to Kennedy's election and his tenure in office, which is all rather official and unsensational, indulging in the stuff of nostalgia for the most part. Kennedy's private life and the wanton rumors are omitted, "because we're not interested in sensationalizing the history," explains Goddard, who also pointed out that there was no assistance from American authorities on the project. After all the documentaries and filmed adaptations of the Kennedys have run, this British-made *Kennedy* will be the widest seen and, thus, most authoritative in the popular mind, because it is true to the "memory" of Kennedy rather than being a serious and revisionist history. It is reckoned that the 6.7 million British pounds telefeature will have been seen by 150 million viewers.

A less popular American telefeature was made in 1977 as the ABC Sunday Night Movie, *Young Joe, The Forgotten Kennedy*, about JFK's older brother who was killed in World War II. The movie revolves around the eldest Kennedy's vow to his father to be the first Irish Catholic president and his sibling rivalry with Jack as both vie for women. Flashbacks at Harvard also explain the family pressure to succeed and to risk everything for glory. The conclusion of the movie has Joe Sr., standing at the mantelpiece at Hyannisport toasting his boys. Joe Jr. is gone, then squash tossing it aside as he swears on Jack, whose heroism in the Pacific has been celebrated earlier in the film to illustrate that necessary step in the career formation of political life.

Seeing a president in battle seems to promise the kind of drama that economic management that chiefs of state deserve the title Commander-in-Chief. Early nineteenth-century presidents are portrayed fighting Indians; Lincoln copes with the decisions of the Civil War, as did FDR with World War II. Eisenhower seems to have resisted movie mythologization, while Truman has been shown to be stunned by MacArthur, patently a great military leader made all the more tempted by Gregory Peck's portrayal opposite Ed Flanders as Truman. Truman's flat Midwestern intellectual persona could present a great challenge to an actor, and after successfully portraying him once, in *The Missiles of October* (1974), Flanders was drafted to play him again in the telefeature *Judgment at Potsdam* opposite John Houseman as Churchill and José Ferrer as Stalin. It takes a truly great actor to portray a historical figure of an degree of greatness with a medium of credibility, and although these stars try their best, their impersonations give a pop-art quality to presidential portraiture and become virtual masquerades of greatness. These television dramas are probably targeted at an audience of veterans, who now appreciate heroism with a catch-oh glow and welcome this relief from prime-time tan.

Thirty years earlier, these veterans perhaps witnessed *The Beginning or the End*, an MGM production about the development of the atomic bomb. Written by Robert Considine, it opens with a speech by J. Robert Oppenheimer, explaining to the camera its "rearrangement and fiction necessary for security reasons and dramatic license," which sees Ben Einstein reluctantly dictating a letter to Roosevelt, because "the secrets of science must be shared with the president." Soon a young H.M. Godfrey Tearle is wheeling at the prospect on the bomb and talking to his dog Fala about Congress possibly impeaching him if science fails. The film grinds on, with the scientists of the Manhattan Project portraying a cross section of American types.

The Beginning or the End reflects the conscious dichotomies of popular art in its portrayal of two processes. FDR's last bit of dialogue is drawn from a speech about "enduring peace, more than an end to war . . . this inhuman and impractical way of settling differences between governments," and then he moves toward the shadowy figure, a painter, who will not have time to immortalize him on canvas. The second half shows President Truman (Art Baker), whose pragmatism is a shocking contrast, when he asks about phrases such as "utter destruction." Roosevelt had posed incisive questions about it being a "decisive weapon" and weighed over policy decisions, but Truman is shown to be the kind of American to provide over practical applications of the "most fearful weapon ever forged by man." To avoid presidential judgments, whatever they may be, the final scene is in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, where a young widow must be told of her husband's death in the service of atomic science.

As America was thrust into the nuclear age, it seemed to cope with the sudden transition by developing a craving for historical films, a phenomenon of nostalgia described by political scientist Richard Hofstadter as coinciding with the first disintegration of America's

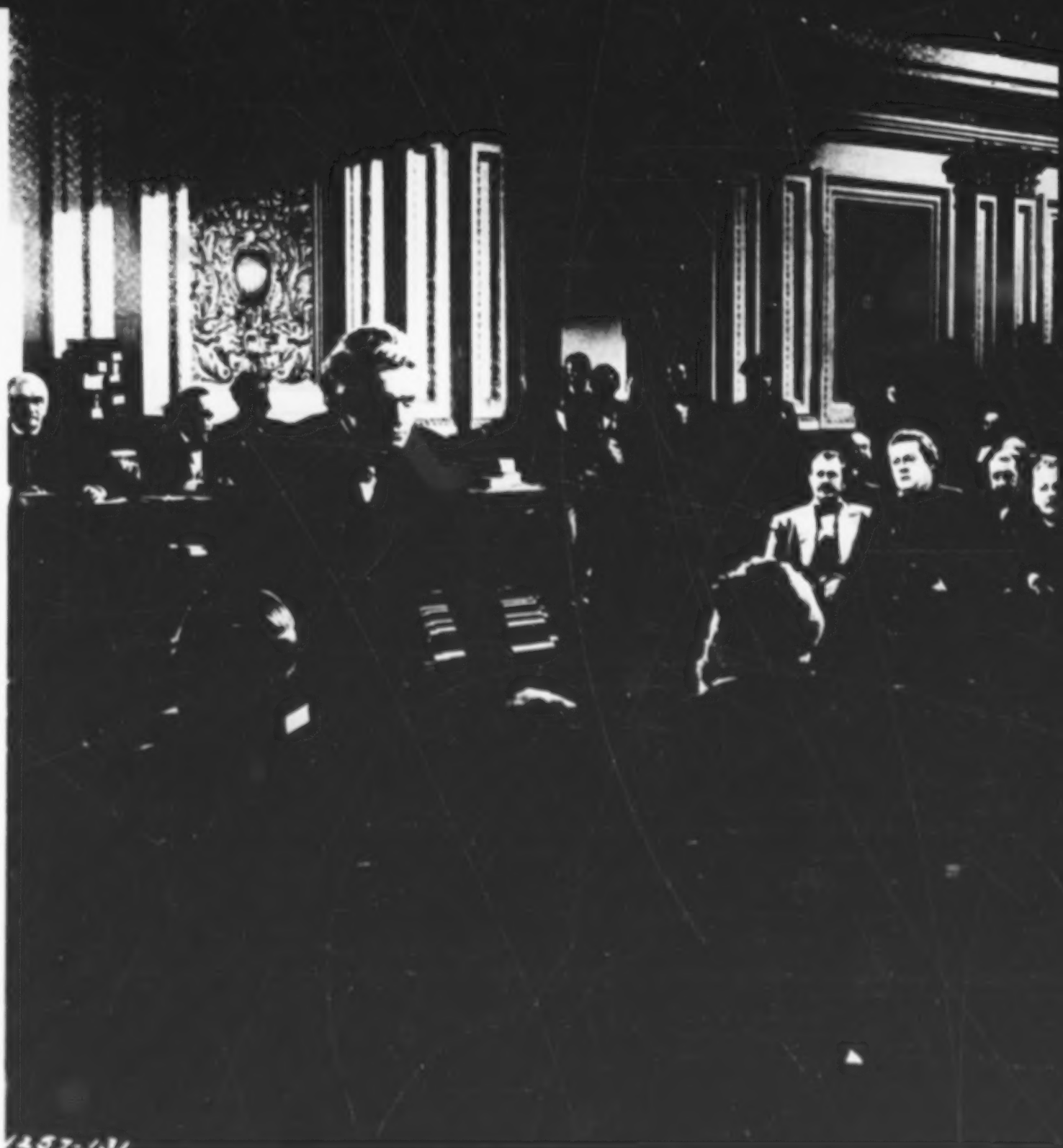
PIONEER OF AMERICAN FILM EDWIN S. PORTER PORTRAYS TEDDY ROOSEVELT HUNTING BEARS TO SAVE GOLDILOCKS

WOODROW WILSON (ALEXANDER KNOX) IS NEW JERSEY'S FAVORITE son when the Democratic Convention of 1912 convenes in Baltimore in this scene from *Wilson* (1944).

■

which Bob Hope plays Jimmy Walker, with its unforgettable tag line: "Who wants to be president, when you can be the mayor of New York?" This is the first film to draw the direct correlation between show business and politics, as part of its humor of course, but the movie's criticism about honesty in politics was prophetic of a later somewhere. The line that drew laughs in 1936—"Maybe it sounds like torture to call your wife a politician and an honest man, but"—has become a cliché of silver screen politicians.

By the time the miniseries *Eleanor and Franklin* found its way to the cathode tubes of post Watergate viewers, even Roosevelt's reputation was ready for some muckraking. Eleanor (Jane Alexander) is shown to have provided more than half the power that motivated his career and to have been a matter to his embarrassment. Because the story is constructed of flashbacks recalling



ANDREW JOHNSON (VAN HEFLIN) APPEALS TO CONGRESS AND THE **people filling the gallery at his impeachment proceedings in *Tennessee Johnson* (1942). Copyright © Loew's Inc. 1942 and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. 1970.**

their friendship and love—from which he strayed even in his hour of death—audience sympathy is reserved for the First Lady, while every start of the president is made visible. Actor Edward Herrmann plays the man with a strong superstructure of good intentions tethered by an inner weakness. His private life is balanced against the many wise career moves, behind which he is often a cranky, careless and petulant figure. In fact, the Lin

coln Memorial, usually the symbol of the president's place in history, is used for one of Eleanor's big scenes, after her resignation from the DAR for their refusing Marion Anderson access to their premises for a concert.

The film's respect for the Roosevelt administration's accomplishments is achieved through a brilliant montage of documentary footage from the era. Through such newsreel material, rather than through dramatic action, FDR is shown developing the powers that will make him an international statesman. Yet, that too is undercut in a scene showing unstatesmanlike irritation at the war, when he confesses, "I cannot remember when I've been more battered." Coupled with his jealousy of Eleanor's free-floating ambassadorial style (when she travels to California to speak out on behalf of Japanese-Americans, he says he envies her "sailing away" from the stress of war), he does not compare favorably with his family's previous president, "Uncle Ted." The benevolent patriarch in this film, Teddy gives Eleanor to Franklin in marriage and hosts the young couple's first visit to the White House.

This three-part series was made in 1976-77, only a year or so after the release of Columbia Pictures' *The Wind and the Lion*, which slightly rattles the canonized image of Theodore Roosevelt in an attempt to show what Teddy would have done about Arab impertinence. The avuncular, diplomatic Teddy of *Eleanor and Franklin* is a far cry from the blustering but canny Roosevelt exploiting a kidnapping incident in exotic Tangier. Since the kidnapping never took place and has been inflated in a fit of nostalgia for the unwavering power Roosevelt represented, the film seems to have been made primarily to contrast the national characters of Arabs and Americans, a subject of some interest after the development of the Arab oil cartel.

One could speculate on the reasons Hollywood reached back as far as the turn of the century to find a president to balance against a pack of barbaric Berbers led by Sean Connery as a cultivated rogue. Perhaps the Ford administration had revived interest in the president as sportsman, however facetiously; perhaps the grizzly character of Teddy seemed to represent the appropriate stance against the Arab threat; perhaps the increase of kidnappings revived a dormant script whose time seemed to have come. Perhaps all these arguments were made in launching the project, but the final product does seem to offer Teddy Roosevelt as a Hamletesque figure in a post-Watergate era when Americans were looking for their lost innocence.

On the 1904 whistle-stop campaign trail, this president is shown saying, "It is my policy to protect American citizens and American interests wherever they are threatened." But what is American? Actor Brian Keith defines the American in a worthy monologue, as he leans against a tree in the dawn after a bear has attacked his hunting camp. Comparing grizzly bears to Americans, he notes their "strength, intelligence, ferocity, blind and reckless at times, but courageous beyond all doubt . . . and loneliness. He has no real allies, only enemies. The world will never love us. They may grow to respect us." This leads to a suggestion that the "grizzly should be our symbol, not that ridiculous eagle," while the film cuts abruptly to Jones being presented to a sultan by some unmanly diplomats.

The Wind and the Lion spends dramatically unjustifiable time with scenes such as Roosevelt and John Hay (John Huston swaggering) exchanging advice on eating cake and staying fit, and Teddy dictating a letter to the Winchester Company pointing out the flaws in its rifles. Ample time is given to Roosevelt running his struggle with a grizzly, with the camera angle catching him from beneath as he growls. Target shooting at

CHARLTON HESTON AS ANDREW JACKSON IN *THE PRESIDENT'S LADY* (1952). Copyright © Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corp. 1952.

a drawing of the Czar. Roosevelt's idea of a joke, elicits from Hay the observation, "He's gone cowboy again." The plot develops a romantic subplot with Candice Bergen portraying American womanhood as infinitely resourceful and Sean Connery trying to translate Arab wisdom for her, their situation prompting a wild-eyed invasion of Morocco by American troops. In the final sequence, an adviser whispers to Roosevelt that they can do anything in Morocco now, and background babble about the "most popular president in history" precedes an unveiling of his stuffed grizzly.

Roosevelt becomes soulful and distant for the first time, adopting a statesmanlike mien as he advises the crowd that "Nothing is certain," then contradicts himself with, "The fate of the nation will be decided by the American people in November, and the fate of Morocco will be decided tomorrow by me. I'd like to be alone with my heart." Western Union delivers the message from the Moulh Achmed Mohammed El Raisuli the Magnificent, Lord of the Rif, Sultan to the Berbers, to the American President: "Like the lion must remain in my place, while you like the wind will never know yours."

This paradoxical portraiture was not the first of its kind about Roosevelt. The father of American cinema Edwin S. Porter made a perplexing little movie in 1907, *The "Teddy" Bears*, which begins with the tale of Goldilocks visiting the house of the three bears and being rescued when Teddy intervenes, killing the Mama Bear and Papa Bear and capturing the "Teddy" bear. Even in this early silent, the American Goldilocks did not know her place and brought out Teddy, guns ablazing.

Whenever Hollywood presumes to educate the nation, the result seems to be an unabashed *apologia pro vita sua*, such as the empirical Augustus I delivered to the Romans. In short, we need great presidents to offset our own shortcomings, to intercede for us in history. But actual educational films seldom carry the pretentiousness of entertainment films about the same subject. For example, director Richard Marquand, whose career subsequently carried him into neighborhood theaters, made in 1977 *A Cowboy in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt 1858-1919*, a competent and informative view of the young TR (William Hootkins) as a cowboy at the Elk Horn Ranch, as a police commissioner, and as the youngest president ever in 1900. TR is shown to have brought an unprecedented life force into that office, but as tradition demands, he declares in stentorian tones, "Abraham Lincoln's my hero." This little movie's heavy emphasis on TR's Nobel Peace Prize and strong desire for peace with a high priority placed on peacemaking conferences pegs it to the values of the 1970s, when American presidents worked hard to bring others to the peace table.

None of these secondary influences on presidential portraiture can compare, however, to the propaganda

launched by Darryl F. Zanuck with *Wilson* in 1944, which drew charges of fourth term propaganda for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and turned everybody from the U.S. Army to the Senate into a film critic. The actor who gave life to this U.S. president was again a Canadian, Alexander Knox, whose resonant elocution and studious movements drew praise from both film buffs and Wilson fans and family. Because *Wilson* was the first American feature film to assay the deeds of actual politicians still living or of recent memory, it was subject to the kind of quibbling over historical accuracy usually reserved for news features. *Saturday Review* said, "this picture is a document of the first importance," while *Time* claimed it was the product of "Hollywood at the crossroads . . . of mature responsibilities," and the *New York Times* dubbed it "The Movie to Prevent World War Three."

The two and a half hour film begins with Wilson as president of Princeton University, quickly sketches his move to Pennsylvania Avenue, the death of his wife, his happy remarriage, and the debates over American neutrality in the wake of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. It may have erred in crediting William Jennings Bryan with securing Wilson's nomination at the Baltimore convention, but its purpose was undoubtedly not to examine a political career but rather to review Wilson's struggle for the League of Nations, whose ideals will never die he assures his Cabinet in the closing sequence, conceding defeat but optimistic that "it may come about in a *better* way than we proposed."

The subsequent debate over the film's right to conduct its own peace march through America's movie palaces led to its being banned from military bases—not so much for its history lessons as for its influence in the reelection of Wilson's former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, FDR. Its alleged partisan political content and context was denied by Zanuck, who insisted it was "damned nonpartisan." The partisan politicking around it prompted some swift amendments to the Soldiers' Voting Act and attracted record breaking crowds just as World War II was pushing the country into negotiations such as those at Dumbarton Oaks, where Secretary of State Cordell Hull invoked the film's lesson during an impasse.

Because the motion picture became the most widely circulated and single most effective piece of propaganda on behalf of the United Nations, its heroic image of Wilson was arguably more effective than any image Wilson himself could have projected. Ironically, the movie's enlightened vision of the power of the mass medium ultimately failed, much as did its subject. A two million dollar loss coupled with the indifference it encountered in rural America recalled the failure of President Wilson's own promotion of noble experiments. As might be expected, its story actually addressed the problems of the conclusion of World War II rather than those of the War to End All Wars.

Among the many causes the Wilson administration has served, the most unlikely is that of feminism. The pandering title of *The First Woman President*, a telefeature made by Delbert Mann in 1974, promises more than it delivers. Eva Marie Saint plays Wilson's second wife, who is called "Edith the First, Edith Rex" in anger by unworthy politicos when she becomes the sole channel of communication to the president, who is presumed to be dying or even dead, and allegedly forges his signature on controversial congressional bills. Edith is accused of "petticoat government," until the recovered president rises to the occasion to pronounce, "Unlike some of our senators, the people always listen to the voice of sanity." This appeal to the people is a characteristic of presidential biographies, but to make sure the people listen to the sane voice of authority, the film invokes Wilson's Nobel Peace Prize in the conclusion as proof of the injustice delivered upon him in his own time.

A similar attempt to revise popular opinion occurs in *Tennessee Johnson*, released in England as *The Man on America's Conscience* (1943). The seventeenth president is shown making a long address at his own impeachment hearings which wins for him that single decisive vote, although in fact he never appeared. The picture also eagerly corrects the record on his alleged drunken delivery of his vice-presidential address. Unable to resist the temptation to embroider, director William Dieterle shows the august Lincoln entering the chambers to silence the restless and scandalized public, although Lincoln would never have been able to do such a thing. These are the more notorious historical bloopers of a film whose aim is to restore the reputation of its subject, made, interestingly, just as revisionist history was beginning to reverse the standard history of the Civil War and Reconstruction Era. James Agee's review in *The Nation* dared to propose that its "daguerrotype" characters made it "as sincere as Henry Wallace, whom it is perhaps prenominating, and now and then, helped usually by Van Heflin as Johnson, the sincerity breaks loose . . . and becomes vigorous and warming for a minute." A minute is not long in a movie, and the film has been all but forgetten, as has its immigrant director, whose contributions to American history now seem unwieldy.

Cut from the Hollywood mold and distinguished by a succession of roles larger than life or history, Charleton Heston satisfied public expectations of historical presidents perhaps better than any other actor, although his rugged, uncompromising individualism has surely become a cliché by present standards. He played Andrew Jackson twice, first in 1950 in Twentieth Century-Fox's *The President's Lady* and again in 1958 in Paramount's swashbuckling *The Buccaneer*.

The President's Lady stars Susan Hayward as Rachel and shifts the focus of his political ambition to her. After dueling over her, his promise to "lift you up so high that nobody will dare say anything about you" becomes the sole motivation for his presidential bid. Their great romance feeds Heston's heroics. He fights Indians, wears a general's epaulets in a battle tent, goes to Washington City against his will, builds Rachel a refuge from her social rebuffs, and plays on certain abiding American prejudices in the voice-over narrative. "When he wasn't fighting Indians, he was fighting Congress."

In a rather pointed parallel with the political forces building up around Eisenhower, the film features Jackson with his thumbs on his lapels on the campaign trail saying, "It has been said that I've had more experience

in uniform than in government. That is true. It was also true of General Washington." Heston suffers a metamorphosis from the coonskin-capped trapper who married pioneering Susan Hayward to the silver-haired statesman seen before the quickly rebuilt columns of the recently burned Capitol delivering his inaugural address after Rachel's death.

When Heston reappears in the battle with the British at the opening of *The Buccaneer* six years later, he still has his silver hair and the moniker "Old Hawk Face." The picture brandished the guarantee "supervised by Cecil B. de Mille" and was a remake of the 1938 story of Jean Lafitte's coming to the rescue of the backwoods general to fend off the British. Lafitte (Yul Brynner) runs a duty free market in the Delta, where he defends *laissez-faire* economics with such phrases as "We take the risks. You take the bargains."

Lafitte's swashbucklers deride the Constitution as "American rules," although they clearly would like to join its prosperous society. They make a bargain with Jackson to help him in exchange for citizenship. But because they are pirates, and therefore undesirables, they are cruelly betrayed. Betraying one's erstwhile allies and challenging another's worth as an American are not surprising themes for the late 1950s, but the melodramatic chords here drown out stray political notes.

A forebear of these two Stonewall Jackson films can be found in the Library's Paper Print Collection. The 1913 *Andrew Jackson* paints with a broad brush the wooing and wedding of Rachel, including the scandal of her previous husband's challenge to Jackson, as well as Jackson's exploits with Lafitte in New Orleans. The archaeology of the visual prototypes of Jackson reveal the buckskin-clad youth developing into the lion-maned general in full command of himself and the nation.

Interest in presidents such as Lincoln and Jackson as representatives of the American dream of rising out of humble origins and achieving the ultimate power America could offer must have appealed both to the men who made the movies and their largely immigrant audiences. The progress of these heroes from out of the untamed West and into the service and rewards of civilization corresponds to the archetypal pattern of heroes anywhere. Most cultures, however, can find these exemplary heroes among their founding fathers, while in America the authors of our Constitution were generally patricians and not available as heroic models for a working class and agrarian society. A fascinating study, however, of effective displacement of the heroic dimensions of the founders of our nation occurs in a 1940 movie in which Thomas Jefferson is a secondary advisory figure to a buckskin-clad, wilderness-bred Cary Grant.

The Howards of Virginia is about the revolutionary war in Virginia getting its start when Colonel Jefferson saves young Tom and the Howard boy from the dandified and unprogressive study of the classics under a schoolmaster still loyal to the Crown. Years later in Williamsburg, Thomas Jefferson (Richard Carlson) and Howard (Cary Grant) meet again, and the dapper Jefferson induces him to throw away his buckskins. Thomas Jefferson is shown to be capable of white lies to help his friend find work among the foppish landed

FROM *THE HOWARDS OF VIRGINIA* (1940): A TYPICAL SCENE FROM quill-pen movies reenacting deeds of the founding fathers, with Cary Grant as the common man among Virginia aristocracy; and Thomas Jefferson (Richard Carlson) overseeing his friend Howard's bath.

gentry, where he also helps find him a wife. Jefferson is used in this film as a patron and foil for the working class (in another country, it would be the peasantry), exposing them to the machinery and lessons in compromise that American politics requires. (The issue of a unified stance after the Boston Tea Party must have resonated in the debate over America's entering World War II.) Jefferson is sent to Philadelphia to "be a brain" for Congress, while Howard is clearly the "heart" of colonial America, laboring to defend it. As governor, Jefferson lodges his thumbs in his lapels, one of those thespian gestures meant to indicate his touch is not on the pulse of the nation.

To perfect the portrait of a hero, a noble General Washington (George Houston) displaces Jefferson in the affections of Howard's sons, who serve the general selflessly. Shown in profile in the film with the care of iconography, Washington is bewigged, immaculately uniformed, and in council with Lafayette and von Steuben, reflecting on his international *savoir faire*. The Revolutionary Army may be suffering greatly, but they are led by people who can deliver well-wrought orators about what they fight for. One of the Howard boys tells his isolationist uncle, "We all believe in liberty. And I believe in Jefferson's kind." By implication, Jeffersonian democracy was as debated in 1940 as during the American Revolution. Historical recreations such as *The Howards of Virginia* may appear to be merely heavy entertainment, like *The Buccaneer* of the

waning 1950s, but a particular political context raises questions about the motives behind their production.

The depiction of the Father of Our Country, George Washington, has resisted most attempts to dramatize his life, primarily because the famous Gilbert Stuart portrait promised so little drama and was so revered that Hollywood felt the necessity to render the first president as Stuart had—immobilized—which is difficult in a moving picture. In most films, Washington appears only briefly and, oddly, in profile. The great actor Montague Love essayed the general in Warner Brothers' *Sons of Liberty*, in which Claude Rains as Haym Solomon rescues the colonial effort with his personal fortune. Although *Sons of Liberty* is not in the Library's collection, an equally liberal educational film from the early 1970s tells the tale of *George Washington: The Making of a Revolutionary*, addressing the very definition of *revolutionary*. It shows Washington's resistance to the idea of revolution, as he paces a room and debates with various interlocutors the issues of freedom that preoccupied the early 1970s.

In 1983 producer David Gerber and MGM joined the historical cavalcade with a miniseries, *George Washington*, which was seen by millions when it aired on CBS. Quite possibly it changed the popular view of Washington's life from that of a man who could not be motivated to tell a lie to that of a man who couldn't help but chop down the cherry tree. A soap operatic tale of Washington's hatch concealed love for his best friend's wife kept in check by the self-effacing devotion of Martha (Patty Duke Astin) hints broadly at some sexual disturbance between Martha and George that is never satisfactorily developed. This potentially scandalous expose of Washington the man is balanced—or contradicted, depending on the degree of one's resignation before the television medium's ability to make almost anything scandalous—by a sober if tedious attempt to show how reluctantly Washington went to war. Having been appointed, he then finds himself sounding like Caspar Weinberger pleading for arms appropriations from the Continental Congress.

Having begun with statements such as "I can ignore history, if only it will ignore me," actor Barry Bostwick provides a self-fulfilling prophecy. As a man trying to escape his destiny, Washington fits into a more modern concept of the burdens of leadership than that of earlier celluloid leaders as stalwart heroes. Bostwick fails utterly to achieve that impenetrable authority found in Gilbert Stuart's painting, probably to the credit of the production. It was the apparent purpose of the series to strip the myth from Washington's life and make him a man—or less. Bostwick never dons a wig and remains youthful until the tearful farewell of his loyal officers in the final scene. Portentous chords seem to announce that, as it was in the beginning and ever shall be, old soldiers never die, they just become president.

An interesting deflection of purpose occurs when the Declaration of Independence is read aloud and painstakingly, as if each and every word is to be renewed in the cathode glow; but after the passage about inalienable rights, the voice dies away and at "to secure these rights" it lops off the part most often ignored. Nevertheless, *George Washington* is a profound homage to the American tradition of continuously reshaping our presidents in the images necessary to maintain respect for the current administration. It is neither better nor worse than the rest, because there can be no absolute scale of values for movies portraying presidents without a complete investigation into the history it served, the politics motivating it, and even the money it needed to generate in a business as expensive as filmmaking.

The most salient characteristic of movie biographies of these presumably extraordinary men is the way the script and camera work oppose each other. The script tries to emphasize the common touch that makes the president a man of the people, while the cinematography reinforces the heroic stance, the superhuman gesture. Perhaps the best portraits have been accomplished in series from the great age of television, such as *Profiles in Courage* and *Omnibus*, where neither budgets nor ideology were inflated. Furthermore, these series quite probably set an unconscious standard for presidential biographies that has made subsequent productions pale in comparison, at least in comparison with our own nostalgic memories of television watching for history lessons. Also important to their own claim on authoritative history is the dignity they lent the subject. The public's self-respect is challenged by movies showing their leaders to be rogues and fools. The current political climate seems to be restoring the American dream, which is summed up by Richard Nixon in *Secret Honor* as "Anyone can be president." But not every president can make his mark on the movies.

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ROBERT SKLAR has written for film publications including *Film Quarterly*, *American Film*, *Literary and Cinema* and has worked for the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division. He is now the Director of Acquisitions and Development at New York for International Spectacular. He is an editor for *Cinema* magazine and Director of Programming for "Women Make Movies," the Washington, D.C., women's film group.

PERFORMANCES AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

MUSIC

David Raksin Composes New Work for Founder's Day Concert

ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING EVENTS of the 1986-1987 concert season at the Library of Congress was the exciting premiere performance of David Raksin's *Oedipus Memoratus* (Oedipus Remembered), the featured work of the Founder's Day Concert on October 30, 1986. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge was born on October 30, 1864, and the foundation bearing her name observes her birthday regularly by presenting a special concert on that day at the Library.

David Raksin's impressive work, commissioned by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, was for bass-baritone, six-part mixed chorus, and seventeen-piece chamber orchestra. It was performed by Thomas Beveridge in the role of Oedipus, the Norman Scribner Choir, and the Music Critters ensemble. Mr. Raksin also wrote the libretto and conducted the choir and ensemble. The concert, which was presented to an enthusiastic and completely filled house, was also heard on various dates in cities throughout the country over American Public Radio.

David Raksin is best known as the composer of the title songs and scores for *Laura* and *The Bad and the Beautiful* and has composed music for more than a hundred other films, including *Forever Amber*, *Force of Evil*, *Carrie*, *Separate Tables*, *Will Penny*, *The Redeemer*, *The Unsinkable Molly Brown*, and *Madeline* (the last two animated). "Laura" has become one of the most often recorded pieces, there being more than three hundred different versions.

Upon graduation from the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Raksin went to New York City, where he played and sang with various bands. George Gershwin heard his arrangement of "I Got Rhythm" and recommended him to the famous Harms-Chappell team that arranged the music for nearly every Broadway show of that time. This led to a call to Hollywood to assist Charlie Chaplin on the score of his film *Modern Times*. Thus David Raksin began his career in Hollywood at the age of twenty-three.

His stage works include several musicals (*If the Shoe Fits*, *Feather in Your Hat*, and *Wind in the Willows*) and ballets, incidental music for many plays (including *Uriah the Prophet* and *Mother Courage*), and the original instrumentation for band of Igor Stravinsky's *Ebony Concerto*, as staged by George Balanchine for the Ringling Brothers Barnum & Bailey Circus.

Mr. Raksin's television credits include themes and scores for "Bus Stop," "Life with Father," "Breaking Point," and more than three hundred individual television programs, acting on "Season Hill" and numerous miniseries.

In addition to being a composer and lecturer, author, lecturer, and teacher, David Raksin is one of the country's preeminent masters of orchestration. His concert pieces have been performed in the United States and abroad by the Philadelphia Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, the Boston Pops, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the BBC Orchestra, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and many others.

SOUND ENGINEER JOHN HOWELL AND ACTING Chief of the Music Division Jon Newsom, working on part of the set for *Oedipus Memoratus*.

DAVID RAKSIN, COMPOSER AND CONDUCTOR, AND bass-baritone Thomas Beveridge looking over the score for *Oedipus Memoratus*.

HUMAN RESOURCES CONSULTANT BILL ADAMICH welcomes and addresses David Raksin, and the Music Critters rehearsing *Oedipus Memoratus*.

The Juilliard String Quartet Performs *The Art of the Fugue*

FILM

The Most Political Picture

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CENTER FOR THE BOOK
Jaguch joins teachers and students at Washington's Cathedral School in listening to Gwendolyn Brooks reading.

Performing Arts RESEARCH FACILITIES AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The Performing Arts Reading Room

Motion Picture and Television Reading Room

Performing Arts

PUBLICATIONS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Three Decades of Television:

A Catalog of Television Programs Acquired by the Library of Congress 1949-1979

Compiled by Sarah Rivera and Katherine Loughney

Although in America television is only some forty years old, it has become such a vital part of our lives that we can hardly conceive of a pretelevision world. Now, with the publication of this unique catalog describing the Library's television holdings acquired from 1949-1979, readers have not only a valuable reference tool, but an evocative compendium of what television offered during those years.

The almost 20,000 entries provide an index of fiction and nonfiction programs, genre and broad subject terms, cast and production credits, and copyright and relevant information. An extensive name and subject index, as well as cross-listings, further enhance the usefulness of the guide.

The catalog draws from the TV collections of the Library's Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, which holds the only official repository for the study of American television programming. Many film, video, videotape, kinescope, and film-to-tape transfer formats are represented, including Westinghouse and the Vietnam War stories made for television and entertainment specials, all of which are described in the catalog in this book's cross-listing section.

Since the Library of Congress will be a permanent resource and not an ephemeral archive, broadcasting networks, the motion picture and communications industry, sociologists, political scientists, educators, researchers and scholars will find this reference valuable.

DANCE ON FILM

AND WALLS AND CEILINGS AND LAND AND AIR AND SEA

BY DAVID PARKER

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1986 Performing Arts Annual

Edited by Jan Nyman

With articles on such diverse topics as American tap dancing, Japanese music from the Metropolitan Opera, the influence of German industrial art on Busby Berkeley's choreography, performing with a one-armed stunt company in the Germans, and film composers' coverage at Oscar's Telly and the Movie Broadcasts, the 1986 Performing Arts Annual got off to a flying start in 1986.

Copies of the previous volume in the series are still available. Hardbound, 180 pages of information and entertainment, copiously illustrated. The 1986 Performing Arts Annual contains anecdotes, as well as analyses, photographs, as well as copyright. Recommended reading. In addition to the Library's collections, all these materials are in the performing arts.

Stock Number: 030-000-00000-0
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Wonderful Inventions: Motion Pictures, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound at the Library of Congress

Edited by Jan Nyman, with an Introduction by Karl Brunner

The Library of Congress presents a rich history of motion pictures, broadcasting, recorded sound, and related media. Selected from the Library's collections, the 400 photographs, many from rare prints, stills, and scrapbooks, and an accompanying album of rare LP recordings. Wonderful Inventions: Motion Pictures, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound at the Library of Congress is a unique, one-of-a-kind collection of rare and unusual materials. Its historical value is considerable, and its appeal to the general reader is also great.

Written from a variety of perspectives, the essays address issues in film and broadcasting, from the silent film era to the present day.

How is a grand book: 981 pages filled with information and atmosphere, a valuable resource for all those interested in the wonderful inventions that have come to learn so large in our lives.
Stock Number: [illegible]
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Perspectives on John Philip Sousa

Edited and with an Introduction by Jon Newsom

Fascinating views of John Philip Sousa—quite varied! Sousa as composer and cultural statesman of international importance—are provided in this collection of seventeen.

The editor, an archivist at the Library of Congress, at America's March King, William Schuman provides an appreciation of Sousa's compositional genius, while John Philip Sousa III makes some fascinating observations, among personal recollections, about his famous grandfather's eccentricities and many illustrations. Neil Harris and Margaret H. Marion each consider Sousa's role of showmanship, with the latter emphasizing Sousa's flamboyant style. Paul Bierley discusses the march traditions in which Sousa was born. Frederick Fennell presents an experienced conductor's view of the most important matters. And James R. Smith examines Sousa's composing method with respect to what is available for present-day performance. The Sousa band, played in the era as well as the era's staple entertainment, was both contemporary phenomenon and [illegible] with patriotic or national ideas. Illustrations provide context for the time, place, and style that was the milieu in which Sousa worked and

Early Motion Pictures

ORDERING INFORMATION

GPO bookstore or by calling the order desk in Washington, D.C. at 202-783-3238.

Discounts. A discount of 25 percent is allowed on purchases of 100 or more copies of a single title. The same discount applies to an order of any quantity from a bookdealer so long as it is sent to the dealer's normal place of business.

DO NOT send your order to the Library of Congress. The Library is not permitted to handle mail orders for these publications.

Compact Disc Recording
Our Musical Past, Vol. 2: Two Silent Film Scores

The first compact disc recording issued by the Library of Congress, *Our Musical Past, Vol. 2: Two Silent Film Scores*, contains excerpts from two 1916 film scores – Jerome Kern's score for *Gloria's Romance* and Victor Herbert's score for *The Fall of a Nation*. The works are recorded digitally and feature Frederick Fennell conducting the Music Grafters.

Although no prints of either film is known to survive today, the music remains fresh and delightful. For *Gloria's Romance*, a serial starring Billie Burke as a tale of love and society in Palm Beach, Jerome Kern wrote a nostalgic score for small orchestra, many which often suggests the "Society Music" which might have been heard at a Florida resort. For *The Fall of a Nation*, Victor Herbert called for an orchestra of about forty players – all that could be fitted into the pit of a large movie theater. *The Fall of a Nation* was a blood and thunder film about the invasion of America by an unspecified European power, although some of the more suggestive battle scenes in Victor Herbert's music of it reflects the grim subject matter of the film.

The price for the compact disc recording is $12.95; it is also available on cassette for $8.95.

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